SHORT NOTICE QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

Delay in the transmission of mails of the Anchal Department.

2. *MR. K. A. MATHEW: Will the Government be pleased to state:

(a) whether they are aware of the inordinate delay in the transmission of mails of the Anchal Department; and

(b) whether the attention of the Government has been drawn to the complaints contained in the leading article of Pouradhwāni, Pouraprabha and Deepika of Mithunam 26-1120 in respect of this matter?

*MR. T. K. GOPALAN NAIR: (a) No.

(b) Yes.

MR. K. A. MATHEW: May I know what steps have been taken now that the matter has been brought to Government's notice?

MR. T. K. GOPALAN NAIR: The Director of Transport is being asked to put up vehicles on the roads and the Anchal Superintendent has also been asked to take delivery as soon as he receives the mail in the Anchal Office.

MR. K. A. MATHEW: May I take it that the delay has been caused by the break-down of the buses?

MR. T. K. GOPALAN NAIR: Mostly.

PRESIDENT: Order, order. Arising out of what I stated two days ago regarding the UNNRA allotment, there may be some misapprehension caused from a perusal of the statement in the newspapers, which it is, now my object to clear. A statement has appeared in most of the Indian Newspapers relating to the further requirements of the United Nations' Organisation. The papers referred to the one lakh as their requirement of the coir yarn; and letters and telegrams have reached me in regard to this matter. I wish to make it clear that this Government's policy is to have as little exports of coir yarn as possible, because their idea is to export as much as possible of manufactured goods and not of the raw materials. This Government have always stood for the maximum export of mats and mattings as apart from the coir yarns. Therefore, the figure of one lakh given there need not cause apprehension. Even if it were for the war only, this Government could not have been particularly perturbed. The Government, however, as I said the other day, are in high expectation of receiving fairly extensive orders from Europe and America in respect of mats and mattings.

In this connection, I would refer to the short-notice question that has reached me from Mr. Karunakaran. He wants to know whether Government propose to take any steps for organising the Industry and whether they propose to conduct any survey of the coir yarn industry and what their plan is. In order that the widest publicity may be given to the Government scheme on this matter, the Government may

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reiterate their policy with regard to such products as pepper and coir. In regard to both these materials, the trade is in a fairly prosperous condition today on account of the prices which the commodities are able to command. It is necessary, however, to provide for the future. Government's intention is not to take over what may be called the commercial basis of the transactions. Government will only assist in putting themselves into direct contact with the Government of India, the United Nation's Organisation or Great Britain for the purpose of securing the contract. After securing the contract for Travancore as such, it would be their duty to utilise as far as possible the existing commercial and trade machinery. In order that the commercial and trade machinery might not be monopolistic in character or might not be in the hands of a few well known or prominent capitalists or tradesmen, the Government have from time to time urged on the industry—the pepper industry, the coir industry and other industries—to organise themselves. If an organisation by way of a Joint Stock company or a Co-operative concern or a duly registered partnership comes into being with sufficient standing to enable the Government to deal with it as they can deal with better organised bodies—the Government will, other things being equal, give more encouragement to those organisations of small scale producers than to those who are in a more fortunate position. I would, therefore, deal with this very big question—the private trade—a trade in which, if too much profit is expected, the trade itself will disappear. Honourable members will keep that in mind and bring into existence in regard to cardamom, pepper and coir mats and matting, such organisation of small scale producers as will eliminate the middlemen and enable the Government directly to deal with this organisation in placing orders in pursuance of such orders as they may in turn get from the British Government, the Indian Government or the United Nations, Organisation.

MR. P. K. KURIAKOSE: May I know what is meant by nuts—whether cashewnuts or cocoanuts?

PRESIDENT: At the present moment, America is not very much interested in cashewnuts; it is much more interested in the shell of the cashewnuts. A certain kind of oil is manufactured from the shell of the cashewnut which is of fundamental war importance and is also supposed to be of great importance in the electrical industry of the future. Therefore, the importance, which at one time was paid by America to the cashewnut is now paid to the shell of the cashewnut and if they import any cashewnut at all into America it is because they think it is better to import the nut in addition to the shell. They were great consumers of cashewnut at one time but I believe they are becoming self-sufficient in that matter, and as soon as the Philippines are probably captured and exploited, they will get as much cashewnut as they want.

MR. VARKALA K. MADHAVAN: Is it possible for Travancore to manufacture cashewnut oil in Travancore?

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PRESIDENT : As a matter of fact, that particular manufacture is still a secret– a war secret, and we have not been able to get at that secret and other investigations which are in progress. In fact, most of these new developments in regard to monosite, thorium, ilmenite, rutile, zircon, cashewnut and cashewnut shell—are today war secrets. Probably after the war is over they may publish these things but it is up to us to try and get that secret without their publication.

The matter that has now to be taken for consideration is the report of the Travancore Education Re-organisation Committee. I suggested on a previous occasion that it might conduce to convenience if the matter to be discussed were embodied in the form of resolutions. Having given the resolutions, after giving them most anxious consideration, I feel that they have not approached the problem with reference to the fundamentals. There are too many points of detail which in the nature of things cannot be adequately discussed by a body like this within the limited time at its disposal. I have therefore, with the consent of the Honourable House decided to call upon Mr. Papworth, who was in charge of the work of this Committee, to give an introductory speech giving the background of his references. I have asked him to be fairly full and to deal with all those points contained in the resolutions so that much overlapping may be avoided and probably some of the resolutions might not even be moved, in view to what will fall from Mr. Papworth. I do not want to say anything more in the matter. Mr. Papworth has a very wide experience of both school and college instruction here and in other countries and he has bestowed a tremendous amount of labour upon this Committee's work. Before asking Mr. Papworth to commence his introductory remarks, I would like to convey—I am sure a formal reply will be conveyed to the Committee later—our thanks to the very representative Committee that has been appointed and which has taken a great deal of trouble to produce a report which having been seen by people all over India is generally appreciated.

MR. H. C. PAPWORTH : Before I endeavour to give to this House a bird's-eye view of the fundamental recommendations embodied in this report, I may be excused if I begin on a personal note and say that it has been a very great pleasure and a very great privilege to me to be called upon to preside over the deliberations of such a helpfu and such a representative committee as the Travancore Education Re-organization Committee. The Committee was composed of 43 members representative of all branches of education from the lowest grad to the highest, departmental interests and private interests an representatives of the Legislature, of business, commerce and industry so that the committee covered a very wide sphere from which I thin no big interest, whether educational or otherwise, was omitted.

PRESIDENT : Mr Papworth, probably you are not so fully aware a I have been, of the acoustic properties of this Hall. I think you, mus bear in mind what I told the Secretary to Government (*Laughter*.

MR. H. C. PAPWORTH: If I cannot be heard, Sir, I hope Honour able members will stop me.

PRESIDENT : I think you had better raise your voice.

MR. H. C. PAPWORTH: The committee's terms of reference wer to enquire into the existing educational system in the State and to fo

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mulate proposals for its re-organization with due regard to post-war developments, and my colleagues and I have very conscientiously endeavoured to examine as impartially as we can the present educational methods and procedure in Travancore, and to submit to Government proposals which in our opinion are most conducive and necessary for educational progress. One of the most valuable features of our report, if I may be permitted to say so, is its unanimity. All the members have signed it and there is no dissenting minute or minority report, and I rejoice to think that in discharging a wide duty of this kind, we have been able to secure this unanimity; for, solid agreement like this cannot fail to be of the utmost value. We have achieved this unanimity by deliberately concentrating our attention upon the big things, upon the main and fundamental educational principles, and upon the big items of immediate reform, and all of us have refrained from advancing merely personal or sectional interests. My colleagues have succeeded in submerging entirely personal and sectional interests for the good of the whole and we have not, therefore, dealt with mere administrative details of small importance, but have confined ourselves to what I call the big things, the fundamental principles of education and the main lines along which we think changes are necessary, and I am sure that we have been right in doing so. For, such a widely representative committee could not have achieved and fulfilled the tasks entrusted to it had they not deliberately taken that broad line, leaving the smaller details to be worked out by those who will be responsible for gradually implementing these reforms.

As we have pointed out in our introduction, no subject has been more fully discussed and more fully thrashed out during, say, the past 30 years than the important subject of educational reform, not only in India but everywhere. In Great Britain, as we know, the discussions of the past years have resulted in the comprehensive Act introduced into Parliament by Mr. Butler last year, known as the Education Act of 1944. In Russia, a new educational scheme, novel and revolutionary in many of its aspects, has been drawn up, and not only drawn up but rather astonishingly and quickly implemented. In India, ever since I have had the privilege of working here, one has heard on all sides clamour for fundamental changes in the educational system of the country. My first experience of that was when my own Professor, Sir Michael Sadler, presided over the Calcutta University Commission in 1919. The Central Advisory Board of Education has annually met for the past 10 years or so and has explored every avenue of educational progress. The Educational Adviser to the Government of India has spent the last five years touring the Provinces and the States, and gathering information from every possible quarter, and has embodied his suggestions in a Report which has already become historic.

As soon as that Report was published—it was of an All India atmosphere—it made a very great impression on provinces and States, but we began to see that no Report of an All India nature could be applied *in toto* to every province and every State, for, taking into consideration the vast differences in literacy, educational achievements and needs between one province and another and one State and

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another, it is obvious that the fundamental principles of educational reform, which are more or less universally recognised as necessary and essential, must be modified and adapted to meet local needs and conditions. The Report of the Central Advisory Board, valuable as it is, has made it clear to Provinces and States and Universities, that they must carefully study it, but must not slavishly embody all its recommendations, but rather, as I just now said, modify and adapt the fundamental principles of reform which almost everybody recognizes as necessary, and bring about such changes and modifications as will be suitable to local conditions. It was for that specific reason that the Government of Travancore appointed this Committee and charged it with the duty of examining the educational system of the State and of submitting its recommendations for reforms and re-organization, not only with reference to past and present conditions but with special emphasis upon the economic conditions which are inevitable in the post-war period. We have endeavoured to discharge that duty and it will be the task of the Government with the assistance of this House, to decide which of these recommendations should be implemented, to decide the priority that should be given to our various proposals, and then to implement them gradually as favourable conditions arise. But I do feel, if I may speak with very great appreciation about my colleagues of this Committee, that we have succeeded in painting a big canvas and I sincerely trust that we have drawn a comprehensive picture of educational progress which will be a valuable guide and will prove of lasting benefit to His Highness' subjects.

There is one more point that I would like to indicate by way of introduction before I invite the attention of the Honourable members to some of the details of the Report, and give a bird's-eye view of the scheme. Very many Commissions and very many Committees have been sitting in India during the past 25 years and have deliberated upon the manifold problems of educational reform. There is no one who would deny that reform in education in all its grades throughout India is an urgent necessity. Many of the recommendations of these commissions and committees naturally repeat themselves and many of them have become axiomatic. They are accepted as necessary in all quarters—educational and otherwise, and yet, in spite of the frequent repetition of fundamental reforms in Committees' reports, we find that only very few of them have been implemented. We find a hesitancy on the part of Governments and Universities to take the lead in bringing about these admittedly essential changes. We find a hesitancy or fear on the part of Governments and Universities to be pioneers in educational reform. Everyone seems to be looking to what their neighbours are going to do, and everybody seems to be waiting for somebody else to take the initiative with the result that nothing, or at any rate very little, has been done. Take this one example, though I may revert to it later. All educationists, and perhaps other people too, are agreed that it is wrong to admit young children of 14 or 15 years of age into a University. That young age of admission has been condemned wholesale by almost everybody. Every one is also aware that

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the so-called intermediate courses in Indian Universities are not really University courses at all, and that they are quite unworthy of University standard. These two things are interrelated. As long as we admit children of 14 or 15 years of age into our University, and as long as we continue to deceive them that by passing the School-Leaving Examination, which was designed or should have been designed for an entirely different purpose, they are automatically fit to pursue a University course of study in the subjects they take, and as long as we admit them at that age into the Universities, we are compelled to start our University studies with courses of a Sub-University standard.

These two things seem to be axiomatic and they are not disputed by educationists and thinking people. And yet, few Universities have been brave enough to tackle that problem; only two to my knowledge. They raised the age of admission to the University, and as a consequence found themselves able to start courses which are of a University standard and not of a sub-University standard. So a certain amount of willingness to face facts and to make departures from conservative tradition will be essential on the part of those who have the duty of considering this Report. And in the Report before you, I think you will find many departures from bad traditions. Some of these recommendations follow the usually accepted principles of educational reform like the one I have mentioned just now, the adoption of which I think, is long overdue throughout India. And others naturally have a more specific reference to the particular requirements and conditions of Travancore.

Now may I proceed to outline, in order to give a comprehensive picture of the scheme, some of our recommendations; for the scheme is a unity. I do not mean to say that every single detail of it must be accepted. What I mean is, a unified scheme is before you and every link in the chain of recommendations in one grade of education is not recommended merely for its own sake, but because it will have a bearing upon other items of the recommendations. We began our work, as I said, by a careful study of the present conditions in Travancore. And as far as primary education is concerned we studied the figures that had been provided for us relating to the past three years, and we came to the conclusion that everybody in Travancore who *wants* to go to a primary school and who *can* go to a primary school, goes to that school; that it is only those generally speaking, who for some reason or other cannot go, either through poverty or through the unwillingness or indifference or indifference of their parents to send them or due to lack of proper food or proper clothing, who do not attend the schools. That being so, the committee came to the conclusion that the present system of primary education had reached the utmost limits of expansion, and that the next logical step in improving it would be the introduction of a system of compulsion. Taking into account the very high proportion of literacy in Travancore, some people think that Travancore can easily be the first in the introduction of universal primary education. Of course, in conformity with

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world-wide opinion all forms of compulsory education must be free. The Committee therefore recommends the introduction of compulsory primary education of five years' duration.

At present the primary school education consists of four classes, but we recommend five, in consonance with the general opinion that five years is the minimum time required to ensure literacy and to insure, as far as possible, against a lapse into illiteracy. Educationists are, generally speaking, agreed on that point. We have statistics from the last Census Report to show how, with the present system of four years, it was easy for those who have been through the primary school course to lapse into illiteracy. The Committee is very conscious that this is not perhaps an ideal recommendation. Educationists have not yet agreed as to what the total length of compulsory basic education, as they often call it, should be. Eight years is the time accepted by the majority. But if we look at the trend of events in England and America, there are signs of prolonging that period. No doubt eight years would be a very ideal thing to bring in. But we have to be practical, and we have to take into account the resources of the State and to see how much can equitably be expended on primary education, and we have come to the conclusion that at present it is not possible to accept the All-India scheme of eight years, with its other commitments too, here in Travancore. I may say that if we, in Travancore, were to accept all the recommendations of the Sargent Scheme—members will excuse me for calling it the Sargent Scheme, Mr. Sargent very strongly objects to its being called so, but as he is not here we are safe—as far as primary education is concerned it will cost us Rs. 2½ crores per year. For the sake of interest I may add that if we accept them for the whole of our education, it will cost us Rs. 6½ crores per year.

Therefore we have limited the duration of the compulsory primary education to five years, because even though better citizens could be made if you had it for eight years, we must admit that is possible, with the right kind of syllabus, with the right kind of curriculum and, above all, the right kind of teacher, to ensure literacy within that period; and by literacy, I mean, not only the ability to sign your name instead of making an impression with the thump, but ability to read, write and speak in the mother tongue, to do simple arithmetic so that a person may look after his own affairs, to know something about the history and geography at least of his country, to make him an intelligent individual and, above all, to instil those characteristics which make a good citizen. With the right kind of syllabus, school and teacher, we feel that five years is the minimum required to achieve that object.

I will not go into details as to how that scheme should be introduced. We have worked out figures for its introduction throughout the State and for its introduction, firstly, in urban areas.

PRESIDENT: That is not correct, Mr. Papworth. As the very first step, Government had to decide between two language areas, Tamil

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and Malayalam. So they had to select from both areas, and in selecting the Tamil area, they saw that they could combine the experiment in a rural locality along with the experiment in an urban locality, Nagercoil. So they chose a taluk. Otherwise they have chosen Trivandrum and Kottayam.

MR. H. C. PAPWORTH: Thank you, Sir.

This system of compulsory primary education depends, as I said, very largely on the teacher. I think that many educationists hold the view that all primary school teachers should be women. Apparently women have a better knack of dealing with children at that age than men. So we have stated in our report that, at any rate, the three lower classes of the primary schools should, in all cases, be taught by women. Special kinds of courses suitable for girls should be introduced in those schools, whereas I believe at present, in the primary school stage, there are no courses which can be regarded as specially suited for girls.

Then the teacher. The committee considers throughout that all education depends upon the soundness and goodness of the teacher. School buildings, syllabuses, books and the like are all subsidiary matters; the first thing that matters is the proper teacher; and for that reason the committee has recommended that the pay of the teachers should be revised and improved. There is a sentence in the report of the Central Advisory Board which says, 'it is a notorious fact that throughout India teachers are miserably paid'. In our report, we have recommended that primary school teachers, whether in departmental or private schools, should be on the scale of Rs. 20—25, and headmasters Rs. 30—40. We have not been able to follow the All-India recommendation for the reasons which I gave just now. But what we feel is that there should be no difference in pay or conditions of service and amenities generally, between the departmental school teacher and the private school teacher. All should have a respectable wage, in order that they might live in selfrespect amongst their neighbours and with the respect of their fellow people, and not be reduced to penury and anxiety, as one understands is so often the case today. And I do commend that principle to all, namely, that efforts must be made to equate the conditions of pay, security of tenure and of service of the private school teacher and the departmental school teacher, and every effort must be made to remove the anomaly which one hears exists at the present moment.

When you have done this, and when the pupils have done this five years' course, it is hoped that they will have attained a certain standard in literacy. We have to remember that for many, for thousands, that will be all the schooling that they are going to get. Now that will be the first diversion stage in the School career and the committee, throughout its report, keeping in mind its term of reference that its recommendations must be closely in touch with the post-war economic conditions, has provided for training and equipment for life at all the diversion stage of the educational ladder. Realising that

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every diversion stage the majority of the pupils are going to leave and finish their schooling, it is essential to equip them for some avocation suitable to their attainments. That is fundamental in our recommendations; at all stages some kind of training, however short and however simple, which will be attractive and interesting should be provided. That is essential. We have to provide that those who reach these stages do not feel that they are useless and unwanted, but that there is waiting for them a variety of forms of training which they can choose, suitable to their ability, suitable to their aptitude, and suitable to their attainments at every particular standard of educational development, into which they can go and prepare themselves for useful work and useful citizenship. I want to emphasize that. At every diversion stage in the educational plan, there will be technical courses—that is fundamental in our recommendations. To what avocations in life does this particular schooling lead?—that question must be asked at every stage. The curriculum of the primary schools—which has not been introduced in this report because it still needs further revision—must be so designed, particularly for those who leave at that stage, to foster their wage-earning capacity as useful citizens and skilled workers, and as young people who take an intelligent interest in their work. So we have recommended that there should be established what we call 'lower grade technical schools'. These very often go under different names, sometimes they are industrial schools, sometimes they are agricultural schools or trade schools, but all of them may find a place in the lower grade technical training, which we suggest should be provided in order to equip the children for citizenship and work. On page 23 of the report, members will see the facilities that we suggest should be provided for these people according to the needs of each locality, according to whether it is an industrial locality or an agricultural locality, so that they can be trained as skilled artisans, skilled agriculturists, skilled craftsmen and the like. We have there a large number of subjects like gardening, bookbinding, mat-making, weaving, commercial lettering, agriculture, and special subjects for girls like homecraft, sewing, embroidery and the like, so that at this stage there will be the possibility of these young people going to direct employment as the majority of them have to do now, though without training for their life's work. That, I think, is the general outline of the primary education recommendations. But I may emphasize this, that we have moved far from the present, that we have to pick up these pupils and realise that they do require some professional help and guidance in order that they may find they are safe in life and find that they are wanted, and that there is work to do and that they have the training to do their work.

But, of course, these primary schools, in addition to leading to direct employment, and in addition to leading to the lower grade of technical training in which you have an infinite variety of subjects will also lead to the next stage in education which we call the middle school stage. There we make a great departure from tradition. At present post primary education is provided by the three classes of

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Malayalam and Tamil middle schools, by the first four classes in Sanskrit schools and also by the Preparatory class and the first three forms of the English middle schools. Now the 1933 committee very fully investigated the case of these varieties of schools and complained that they were all defective both from the point of view of their organization and curriculum, as well as from the point of view of their achievements. The distinction they pointed out and we came to the same conclusion—between the English and the Malayalam and Tamil schools was mainly an economic one; the latter schools were really being run in order to cater for the poorer classes and they were but imitations of the English schools. All of them provided courses which were purely literary and all of them more or less covered exactly the same ground. The middle schools in other words, serve no other purpose than as feeders to the high schools, exactly in the same way as high schools seem to have no other purpose than to serve as feeders to the University. And it was the aim of this committee to change that attitude and that outlook altogether and to realise that, just as primary education must be not mainly or merely an avenue to something else, but an end in itself which can and ought to be achieved, the middle school stage and the high school stage should be ends in themselves with a definite object to achieve, that is a definite training for life and citizenship. So the committee is of the opinion that these serious defects in the immediate post primary education must be remedied. According to the committee, the system and scheme must cease to be purely academic, must cease to be a mere feeder to the next stage of education must be re-designed to be the finishing stage of what is often called basic education.

Honourable members will realise that, though we have not been able to recommend an 8 years' compulsory course that would have ended with the Middle School of three years' duration, the idea is that the Middle School should not be regarded merely as a feeder to the High School course but as the completion of basic education. At the Middle School stage we may and should expect the biggest diversion of pupils from schooling to life. That stage above all should be complete in itself and should lead to training of a very definite kind. At present, Middle School education, being so entirely academic and being nothing but a feeder to the High School course, seems to us to rob young men and young women of their wage earning capacity, and not to fit them for any of the vocations in life. So, we suggest that the distinction between English, Tamil and Malayalam Schools, being no longer necessary and serving no useful purpose even at present, should go. There should be only one type of Middle School in which, in addition to the academic subjects of general knowledge which every boy and girl of school age should know, education with a practical and vocational bias will be given in every school. In this way the pupils' interests may centre for part of their time on practical things. So we recommend that it should be compulsory in forms 1, 2 and 3 of the Middle Schools that, in addition to the ordinary academic subjects which are enumerated in the Report, there should be instruction in

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crafts involving a practical and vocational bias for at least one hour a day, in order that these pupils are not entirely divorced from the life which they know and the life which they will seek to enter. We know that purely academic education is becoming more and more barren as the years roll on, so in making our recommendation for a common type of Middle School, we have insisted that, in addition to those few academic subjects, there shall be a bias for crafts like gardening, spinning, weaving, carpentry, smithery, agriculture etc. Whatever subjects the locality seems to suggest to be the best and most necessary may be chosen for that training. This study of crafts involving a practical and vocational bias should be provided for all pupils who continue their education beyond the 5 years primary stage. So we recommend that there should be one type of post-primary education of 3 years' duration which may be called the Middle School course consisting of forms 1, 2 and 3. All pupils will have undergone the common primary compulsory course of five years' duration and their standard and achievement will be the same. They will therefore all be equally fit to continue the same kind and standard of general education, the essential variety being introduced by the various kinds of practical training provided in different schools. We realise that at the end of the Middle School we may expect the biggest diversion into vocations, and so at the end of that stage too, provision for technical training must be provided. Pupils can be given various forms of technical training suitable to their age, and pupils who undergo that training should be eligible for those vocations in life for which that training fits them.

Throughout the Middle School course we recommend that, as in the previous primary school course, the mother tongue should be the medium of instruction. However revolutionary this proposal may be, I think it is in accordance with modern ideas that all instruction should be in the mother tongue. Therefore, there is no need for separate Tamil and Malayalam Middle Schools. It will have the effect also of abolishing what we call English Middle Schools. In Tamil areas schools will be Tamil Schools, Tamil being the language of instruction, and Tamil will be the language on which the greatest emphasis is laid. In Malayalam areas, Malayalam will be the language of instruction, and Malayalam will be the language on which the greatest emphasis is laid. English will be taught as a compulsory second language from the first form onwards, as a knowledge of it will be necessary for those who go to employment and courses of technical training. Every stage of this scheme is designed to equip for life, and not merely to concentrate on the next stage of education.

Education at present is an aimless procession from the Primary School to the Middle School, from the Middle School to the High School, and thence to the University, without the pupils finding themselves thoroughly equipped for life at any of these stages. That is the trouble at present. Pupils go on and on ; they all study the same things and are all shaped into one mould or pattern. The result is that they are not able to take their proper places in life with confidence

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and assurance and skill as they ought to do. At the end of the Middle School course we have recommended that there should be the first public examination. Personally, I am not enamoured of examination at all in the school stage. The first examination I took was the School Leaving Certificate. I had nothing before that and I think I am none the worse of it. We recommend that there should be no examinations at all in the Primary School course. We must research and find alternative methods of judging the progress of pupils and their fitness for promotion, instead of relying upon the strength of their memory during one examination week in the year. This is a ridiculous system and takes no account of the pupils' ability, aptitude, and progress of work day by day throughout the year. All that is of no avail. As our report suggests, researches have been made and I earnestly hope that training colleges will carry out researches to devise more effective tests by which to judge the exact standard of a person's attainment and his fitness for promotion than the present system of examinations which are merely memory tests.

MR. T. K. NARAYANA PILLAI: Is it for promotion from class to class?

MR. H. C. PAPWORTH: No. We have stated that no class examinations should be held until the end of the fifth class, and then an internal test alone will suffice. There are plenty of other ways which have been devised, and I think, with that material before us, we have teachers and educationists here who could by their research adapt those methods to the needs of Travancore. But in the absence of that adaptation, we have no alternative at the end of the middle school, and so we reluctantly say that for the present at any rate there should be a public examination at the end of the Middle School stage which will select pupils who pass from the Middle school to the High School, and pupils who pass from the middle school to the variety of technical training which we have recommended for them at that stage.

I now pass on to High School education. Throughout the Report we have emphasised the need for separate stages of education. The Middle School examination will have to be the determining factor in the case of those who are going on to the last three years' course of High School education. There again, the High Schools of the present are nothing but pre-University classes. The education given there is entirely academic; and the syllabus is entirely dominated by University requirements. It is difficult to find a boy or girl in a High School who has any ideas at all or any ambition whatever other than to proceed to a University. Even as long ago as 1933, the committee which sat in Travancore said that the English High Schools are functioning almost entirely as pre-University classes. In this connection I will quote a passage from the report of the Central Advisory Board of Education which says,

> "High School education should on no account be considered simply as a preliminary to university education, but as a stage in itself. In a well-organised system of public

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education only about one in ten to fifteen of the high school leavers will go on to Universities. Consequently, the high schools should attach the utmost importance to preparing the great bulk of their pupils, who will not proceed to universities, for entry into useful and remunerative employment of all kinds immediately on leaving school. It is to be hoped that in the near future with the development of a higher standard of high school education, a school leaving certificate, supplemented where necessary by further training of a technical or commercial type, will come to be regarded as a more normal qualification than a university degree for entry to all but the highest grades both in Government service and business life. A changed outlook of this kind will demand a thorough overhauling of the present organization and curriculum of high schools."

This Committee agrees with that view, and is anxious, as I think every one who faces realities will be anxious, that high school education should be overhauled in such a way as to make it the normal finishing of a person's schooling and education. It must complete in itself. It must be freed from the domination of University requirements so that the pupils who leave the high schools are fit to take their places in life. In many cases, a further course of technical or commercial training will be necessary. In the majority of cases that may be the case. In most advanced countries that is all that the ordinary person ever requires for all ordinary occupations and for many of the higher occupations of life.

PRESIDENT: Even at the risk of anticipating, the Honourable member may introduce the subject of the polytechnic now.

MR. H. C. PAPWORTH: That comes immediately.

I said just now that the high school leaving certificate may be sufficient in itself or it may be supplemented where necessary by specialised commercial or technical training. It should be regarded, as it is almost everywhere regarded, as the normal finishing of a boy's or girl's education, and the University should be left for those who are going to enter the few professions for which a University education and qualification may be necessary. With regard to the phrase that I used "supplemented where necessary by technical or commercial education" Honourable members might have noted that I never mentioned commercial education when speaking about diversion from the primary schools into training schools or agricultural or industrial schools. I never mentioned commerce. When I referred to the diversion from the middle schools I again never mentioned commerce, because we were advised by our commercial experts on the Committee that commercial training should be for boys who have passed the high schools. For office managers, office Superintendents, auditors, accountants, bankers and the like, high school certificates should be insisted upon.

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[Mr. H. C. Papworth]

I was told the other day that that is the only education that businessmen ordinarily require. They look with scorn upon people who go to the University instead of beginning their commercial training immediately after their school-leaving course. This commercial and technical training at the end of the high school course is the most important need throughout India. We already say that the school leaving certificate examination is a sufficient qualification for Government service, accountants, auditors and others, but we allow people with a University Degree to compete in open competitive examinations along with the high school certificate holders.

MR. K. K. CHELLAPPAN PILLAI: May I know why in the high schools commercial subjects could not be included at present?

MR. H. C. PAPWORTH: I shall deal with that question when I come to commercial subjects.

For ministerial services you have competitive examinations, but no school or post-school syllabus provides for technical or commercial training. The result is that if you hold an examination, say, in Arithmetic, graduates in mathematics are allowed to compete with the school final student which is obviously unfair. I believe that this technological and commercial training at the end of the high school period is the most vital need throughout India, and that can only be given in such institutions as polytechnics. I will speak in detail about polytechnics later on.

MR. M. L. JANARDHANAN PILLAI (*Nominated*): May I know why commercial subjects must begin from the high school alone and not in the college classes?

MR. H. C. PAPWORTH: I never said anything of the kind. I said that commercial training should be given *after* the school leaving certificate examination has been passed, and this training can best be given in a polytechnic. I will illustrate this further when I speak about polytechnics.

In order that high school education may become an end in itself and lead to the majority of careers, this committee recommends—and here we are in accordance with every commission and committee that has met in India, England, America or Germany - that at the high school stage there should be a bifurcation into academic high schools and technical high schools. There should be two types of high school after the common primary and middle school stage-academic high schools and technical high schools. Generally speaking, the academic high schools will impart instruction in arts and pure sciences, whereas the technical high schools will provide training in applied sciences and in industrial subjects. The recommendation that there should be at this stage two types of high schools involves the abolition of the present distinction between English, Malayalam and Tamil high schools. Provision for the teaching of languages can always be made because instruction throughout the high school course is recommended to be in the mother tongue of the district, English being continued from the middle school as a compulsory second language. We are anxious

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that there should be a wide choice of subjects in both types of school. We are anxious that there should be a policy by which a pupil can study the subjects of his own choice, ability and aptitude rather than follow stereotyped courses in every high school throughout the State.

With regard to the technical high schools we are following, as I said, almost the unanimous recommendation of all committees which have considered this point. We recommend that the study of academic subjects should be reduced as much as possible and in technical high schools there should be no further study of languages as such. I think we are gradually getting away from the old idea that the only way to salvation is a knowledge of a number of languages, and so, we suggest that the academic subjects in technical schools, you may call them cultural subjects, should be reduced to such things that every person educated up to that stage ought to know, ought to be able to talk about and discuss and converse freely about, in order that he may move on equal terms with his fellow beings. We think that economic current geography, general knowledge with special reference to social problems and current affairs, practical instruction in the use of the English language, elementary science, mathematics and drawing are essential. If these things are generally taught, then a wide choice of technical subjects should be made from a list like the following:— carpentry and furniture making, leather work, metal work, castings, plumping, electricity, electric fittings, mechanics, sanitary engineering, automobile engineering, printing, agriculture, dairy farming, textiles, art, painting, clay modelling and plaster casting, ivory carving, wood carving, kuftgari, music and home science. From these you can make a choice of suitable vocational subjects. Both these types of high school at the end of three years will lead to a school leaving certificate examination which will be of equal status and which will confer equal privileges on all. And this school leaving examination, both academic and technical, should be regarded as the normal finishing stage of a person's ordinary education.

Now we come to the question of diversion. Pupils who have completed the high school stage will be equipped, with or without a further period of specialised training, for the majority of vocations in life. They should be fit, not for manual labour or artisan work, but for occupations which are acceptable to people who have attained that standard of education. They should be eligible for many branches of Government service, for all clerical posts as well as for various grades of technical and business training.

I ought now to talk about polytechnic training which would finish off and equip the school leaving certificate holder for life, but may I just make a diversion and refer to the last two sections of the chapter on high school education which recommend the continuance of Sanskrit schools and Arabic schools. I will not go into details, as these are matters, I think, for the syllabus committees. It was impressed upon this committee that Sanskrit and Arabic schools hold a special claim.

Sanskrit is a classical language and, as at present, special schools have been provided for those who wish to specialize in Sanskrit, and

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Learning in the University. The same plea was made on behalf of Arabic, as the classical and religious language of Mussalmans, and so provision has been made for Arabic schools. But I see that some one has put in a resolution that there should be Tamil schools on this analogy. A purely classical language is one thing, a regional language another. Tamil is fully provided for by making Tamil schools in all localities where they are needed.

Now I pass on to the provisions that have been made for equipping pupils at the end of the various stages. I have already referred to the lower grade training which will need to be with reference to the local needs and industrial development of the locality or to the agricultural status of the locality. Suitable subjects can be chosen in each place in order to make these pupils skilled artisans. Lower-grade technical training caters for pupils who are diverted from the middle schools or lower schools, but for those who are diverted from the high schools, a polytechnic standard of training is essential.

In my opinion, there should be a number of poly-technics where these pupils could go and train themselves without wasting their lives in a University. First, we have recommended that there should be a polytechnic in Trivandrum. We can have a combined technological and commercial polytechnic, or separate ones. These polytechnics will provide diploma courses of three years and certificate of proficiency courses, generally speaking, of two years, although in some cases the diploma courses will take only two and the certificate courses only one year according to which particular subject you take. But these two courses should lead to examinations of all-India recognition. Thus, a boy who has his school leaving certificate and wants to qualify as an Accountant, or as a Banker, or for a job in the Finance Department of the Government or in any firm, or is interested in what I might call figures, may take an accountancy examination of all-India recognition. I shall just take an example. A person is going into a Bank. He is good at figures, and has done well in Arithmetic. Here then is a course for him; he takes his school leaving certificate and then a course in the polytechnic which leads him to the examination conducted by the Institute of Bankers. He has then got all the equipment, all the data that he wants to know. For all these things a school leaving certificate is admittedly sufficient. In the polytechnic at this stage you will also train people in such things as Agriculture, Forestry, Civil, Mechanical and Electrical Engineering, Chemical Engineering, Textile Manufacture, Textile Chemistry, various other technical subjects, Home Science and Fine Arts, and the Diplomas and Certificates in these will lead to employment because they will be recognised and will be the things that are required. They will naturally lead to employment in superior technical positions in the Government service and commercial firms. In the commercial branch, you provide for commercial courses. These two may lead to qualifications of an all-India or even wider recognition in such things as shorthand and typewriting, book-keeping, elementary accountancy, secretarial practice, industrial geography, commercial mathematics, commercial English (not the type of English learnt in the Intermediate class, but

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definitely of a commercial kind), a modern European language other than English, economics, statistics, business organization and administration, insurance, co-operation, auditing, mercantile law and banking. It is no use telling people that a University education is unnecessary, unless you provide ample opportunities at that critical and crucial stage—the school leaving certificate. I would impress upon Honourable members the necessity of beginning, as soon as possible, a technical and commercial polytechnic in Trivandrum. In course of time, it will be possible to have other institutions in other parts of Travancore on the lines of the polytechnic. There should be a model technical high school attached to it, so that the technical training is complete.

Now, I want to go into the question of the training of teachers for these.....

PRESIDENT: Order, order. It might be useful here to remember, and the Pro-Vice-Chancellor might also keep that in mind, that before that system comes into force, the Government have decided to make the position clear that a University Degree is not a condition precedent to Government service, especially in the lower branches of the Government service, where special encouragement will be given to persons possessing shorthand and typewriting and similar qualifications. As between the graduate and the undergraduate with this experience, the undergraduate will definitely be preferred. That rule will probably come into existence within the course of six months from now.

MR. H. C. PAPWORTH: I am glad to know that. We have, of course, recommended that rule in connection with recruitment to Government service. Members will kindly look at paragraph 7, page 54:

> "Although we have recommended that commercial training of a specialized nature should be reserved for pupils who have obtained a school leaving certificate, we are at the same time of opinion that, for employment in routine clerical posts, a school leaving certificate is sufficient without further specialized training. By far the largest number of posts must necessarily fall under this grade, and the education required for them need not go beyond the school leaving certificate stage. This is the rule at present, though unfortunately graduates are allowed to compete for these routine clerical posts against school leaving certificate holders. We recommend that in future the possession of a school leaving certificate should be the maximum qualification for admission into all routine clerical posts. It would, of course, be helpful for those who become clerks in commercial firms if Elementary Commercial Geography were taught in the upper forms of high schools. It is for superior clerical posts, as distinct from routine clerical posts that specialized commercial training will be necessary. In the category of superior clerical posts we include head clerks, senior clerks, shorthand typists, book-keepers, store-keepers, time-keepers, cashiers, accountants, office managers, superintendents, correspondence clerks, shipping clerks and salesmen.

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The Committee, therefore, recommends that specialized commercial and business training be imparted in the Polytechnic to school leaving certificate holders to qualify them for superior clerical appointments."

In another part of the report, we have recommended that the Public Service Commissioner, in recruiting for these routine and superior clerical posts, should be instructed by the Government to prescribe a *maximum* qualification and not allow people who have gone on to University education to compete. I see that Government are in favour of this position.

Honourable members will of course realise that although Engineering, Agriculture, Forestry and Commerce are polytechnic subjects, this does not preclude a University from having Faculties in these subjects as well. But these Faculties would not be for people who wish to achieve a qualification of an all-India or a world wide reputation, but mainly for those who will become professors, instructors and research workers in the subjects. There is a great difference between the object of a polytecnnic training and the object of a University training. The polytechnic training is meant to produce engineers, industrialists, and the like, and to provide men for employment in industry and commerce. The University has a very different purpose and goes deeply into academic theory, and does not produce men for business and industry exactly in the same way or in the same manner as the polytechnic.

PRESIDENT: Order, order. If the honourable Member can finish in 10 minutes, I think the House would not mind sitting ten minutes more.....

MR. H. C. PAPWORTH: There are many other things to touch upon and I want more time.....

PRESIDENT: Order, order. We have now come to the stage of University Education. It might be useful to have discussion up to that stage because some of the important matters in regard to primary and secondary education have to be dealth with. But before I decide on that matter, I should like to place one or two matters for the consideration of this honourable House and I shall be guided by the general opinion which may be expressed to me after lunch, after the various party leaders have consulted with each other. This is a matter of paramount importance to the future of the country and the Government will be very largely influenced by the decision of this House and of its sister Chamber. The subjects to be covered occupy a large field and the discussion, in order to be full and complete, will also naturally take some time. There are certain specific resolutions which may be disposed of, but I take it that honourable members will also like to have their views on the general problems placed before the House. We have got this afternoon and tomorrow for discussion on this report. It is entirely open to this House to decide whether or not to take up the non-official day for the discussion. I cannot force any non-official to take up this business because this business is essentially Government business as it has been brought forward on behalf of Government. So unless it is by a definite understanding

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amongst the non-official members and unless it is fairly unanimous, I cannot change the programme. A suggestion has been made to me that one more day could be given, but that is not possible according to the time table because as is well known, the State Council will have to finish general discussion of the budget, voting of demands for grants and non-official business before the end of Karkadagom. Therefore, with advertence to the time table it is not possible to give one more official day. Keeping all these matters in mind, I leave this entirely to the House and they may express their views after lunch as to what line they would like to take in this matter.

The house will now adjourn and meet again at 3 p, m.

The House adjourned at 2-3 p. m.

The House re-assembled after lunch at 3 p. m. with the Dewan-President in the Chair.

PRESIDENT: Have all the honourable members consulted their colleagues?

MR. PULIYOOR T. P. VLAYUDHAN PILLAI: My party accepts the proposal that one more day may be taken up for the discussion.

MR. T. K. NARAYANA PILLAI: My party has no objection.

MR. M. L. JANARDHANAN PILLAI: We agree.

MR. K. A. MATHEW: We suggest that one more day may be taken up if the non-official business could be taken up for the next Session.

MR. PULIYOOR T. P. VLAYUDHAN PILLAI: If this Session is going to be prorogued, that cannot be done.

PRESIDENT: It will not be prorogued.

MR. K. A. MATHEW: If the President is agreeable to that, we accept.

PRESIDENT: So, it is practically a unanimous decision. Now therefore what will happen is that after Mr. Papworth finishes his speech, we may finish resolutions as far as possible on the basis of ordinary resolutions. *i. e.* giving ten minutes to each speaker. Then, I think if honourable members have no objection—after these resolutions have been talked about—we can have the general observation of various members who may like to cover the whole field.

(The House signified their assent.)

PRESIDENT: There is one more matter that I want to point out here. Even today I received a rather agonised petition that Anchal covers are not still available. As it has been found that there is a tremendous amount of profiteering in Anchal covers by hoarders, Government have decided that no private party or trader can hereafter sell Anchal envolopes from next week. The Anchal envelopes will be sold only at Anchal Offices, so that we can get rid of merchants hoarding them.

MR. CHAZHIKATTU JOSEPH: വളരെ അധികകാലം അഞ്ചൽ ആഫീസുള്ള കിടങ്ങൂർ ഇതു നിയമിക്കുന്നതു സംബന്ധിച്ചു ഒരു നിവേദനം കൊണ്ടുവന്നിട്ടുണ്ടായിരുന്നു. അതു പരിഗണിക്കുമോ?

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PRESIDENT: In any case the rule will be the Anchal covers will be purchased only at Anchal offices.

MR. CHAZHIKATTU JOSEPH: സർ, ഒരു വാക്ക് പറഞ്ഞുകൊള്ളട്ടെ. അഞ്ചൽ കവർ ബ്ളാക്ക് മാർക്കറിൽ പോകുന്നതെന്നാണ് അറിയുന്നത്. ഒരാളിന് ഫ ൦ ൦ കവർ കിട്ടിയാൽതന്നെയും അതിൽനിന്നും വലിയ ലാഭമുണ്ടാകുമെന്നു തോന്നുന്നില്ല.

MR. K. K. CHELLAPPAN PILLAI: For those people who go late to the Anchal offices, a late fee, may also be fixed.

PRESIDENT: Order, order. The honourable member's ingenuity is commendable. (*laughter*) But having made only an announcement I do not want a discussion. (*laughter*)

MR. H. C. POPWORTH: With your permission, Sir, and the permission of the House,—

I will now deal very briefly with the subject of University education. Of course, University education is entirely a matter coming under the University authorities constituted under the Act, and the Senate has full powers to implement or alter any of our recommendations. Therefore, it will not be necessary to go into details in this House with regard to the specific recommendations regarding University education. I will only refer to them in so far as they are affected by our proposed reforms for school education. As a corollary to what I have said about High School education being an entity in itself and the School Leaving Certificate Examination being the maximum qualification required for entrance into the majority of careers and also into the polytechnic, and also as a corollary to the fact that the High School course must no longer be dominated by University requirements, the committee recommends that the School Leaving Certificate Examination should no longer serve its present dual purpose of being on the one hand the test of a good general all round school education, and on the other hand deciding eligibility to the University. As long as we keep that dual purpose for the school leaving certificate examination, try as you will, you will not succeeed in preventing the High School course from being dominated by University requirements. Hitherto, as we all know, its primary purpose of being a general all round test that a person had a thorough schooling, has been entirely frustrated by its secondary purpose, namely of testing eligibility to the University. Whilst the committee, as I have already said has no desire to increase the number of examinations—indeed it has recommended a most drastic reduction in examinations—we feel that it is absolutely essential for the University to institute its own entrance examination which will be the sole avenue of entry into the University. That being so, we come into line with some of those Universities which have modernised their procedure and have instituted their own entrance or matriculation examination for the purpose.

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We naturally considered the question as to whether classes should be provided for those who wish to take the University entrance examination. In theory, of course, the University should take the attitude that it has no interest in students until they become under-graduates. Universities do not mind whether their under-graduates have been to school or whether they have not. Some people go to school and some people do not. The late Lord Darling, one of the most famous of His Majesty's Judges, used to boast of two things, firstly, that he had never been to a school, and secondly that he had never been to a University; but he certainly became one of the most learned and cultured members of the Privy Council. That is the attitude of the English Universities. If you pass the University entrance examination or an examination regarded as equivalent thereto, the University takes no interest whatsoever as to whether you have been to school or not. The University takes interest only when you become an under-graduate. That might appear to be the logical attitude to take. But the committee, considering the peculiarities of conditions in India and in Travancore, felt that they could not suddenly make such a drastic recommendation which would have the result of allowing a large number of people to wander about preparing for the University entrance examination, and encouraging the mushroom growth of a number of tutorial institutions without any proper recognition at all. They thought that they could not taking the facts into consideration, advocate that system and so, they have recommended that pre-University schools may be established to train pupils for the University entrance examination. These pre-University schools have been tried before elsewhere and sometimes they have succeeded and sometimes not. It is a very delicate recommendation. Where they have been attached to High Schools, they have failed; and where they have been attached to University Colleges they have equally failed; because where they have been attached to High Schools, they have merely become the seventh form of a High School to which all the other forms lead, and thus, try as you will, the whole domination of the High School curriculum by the requirements of the seventh form comes back. Once again the sixth form loses its pride of place and status and the whole school looks to the seventh form and directs its teaching along that way. If on the other hand, you attach them to Colleges below the degree classes, then you get your old intermediate over again and you begin your University courses of study with what I have described as courses of a sub-University standard. The only alternative is that these pre-University schools must be entities of their own—neither attached to the top of a High School nor to the bottom of a College.

We shall have to see that pupils are eligible to enter these pre-University Schools, and that they have completed the High School course. We may have no legal right to insist that they shall have completed the School Leaving Certificate Examination. If we institute our own entrance examination, then the University will have no legal

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rights over the pupils until they pass that examination. But as we have stated in our report, it will certainly be desirable for pupils to have taken the School Leaving Examination because that alone will lead to the polytechnic and will lead also to employment in the higher grades of Government Service, business and industry, and so those who by-pass that examination will do so at their own risk. The University entrance examination is not intended to be an equivalent of the School Leaving Examination, so far as the privileges and prerogatives attached to the school leaving examination are concerned. We therefore advocate the establishment of pre-University Schools as separate entities like training schools and other technical schools. They will be neither attached to the High Schools nor to the Colleges. A minimum course of one year's training may be given for preparation for the University entrance examination in these schools. The University will prescribe the syllabus and the courses of study and conduct the examination, but there is no necessity for the University to control the administration in regard to the institutions. On the contrary, it may be better if they are controlled by the Director of Public Instruction, under whom all forms of education, we suggest, should be placed, except, of course, University education. We shall then be able to dispense with these intermediate classes which, as I have said, are not really worthy of University rank at all, and we shall be able to admit undergraduates to the University at the age of 17, which we recommend should be the minimum age of entry into the University. If compulsory education begins at the age of five, as we recommend, then a person will not take a school-leaving certificate until the age of 16 and he will be 17 before he will be eligible for admission to the University. We want the University to prescribe this minimum age of entrance so that the present unsatisfactory system of admitting young children may stop.

This University entrance examination will not be a copy of the school leaving certificate examination. Pupils will be able to choose the subjects they will offer. They will know by then the subjects they like and those in which they have got the best marks, and in which they have achieved proficiency and aptitude.

A compulsory paper in English will be necessary; but apart from that, candidates might offer subjects of their own choice for admission to the University, and these subjects in the University entrance examination will be grouped according to Faculties, so that according to the subjects which a person has offered and passed, the Faculty which he is eligible to enter may be determined. Supposing you say for example that he must take four subjects as a minimum, in Arts, or in Engineering, grouped according to the Faculty, there is no reason why a candidate should not offer more subjects than four. He might offer five or six or seven if he wished to qualify for admission into more than one Faculty. We have mentioned that in our Report. A

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person can easily offer an additional two or three subjects which would give him eligibility to enter, say, either the Faculty of Science or the Faculty of Engineering according to his choice. This means a new orientation of University education. A candidate will not enter a particular College in order to undergo exactly the same course as his neighbour, but will enter a Faculty where there are a number of subjects from which he may choose the subjects of his own liking. This will lead to a three years' degree course, because the University entrance examination will be at least of the standard of the present Intermediate, and by that time students will know beyond any shadow of doubt the subjects in which they are proficient and the subjects which they like.

I will not go into details of the Faculties of the University here, but I just wanted to give the House a completion of the picture and show how the School Leaving Certificate Examination will serve many purposes in life, but not any longer eligibility for the University. We will have a proper matriculation or entrance examination of our own standard suitable for entrance to a University, and the subjects of that examination may be studied in pre-University school. They will be grouped according to Faculties, and according to the subjects offered by a candidate, so his eligibility to one Faculty or more will be determined.

May I pass over the rest of our recommendations for University education? Of course we have made recommendations to increase the number of Faculties and to introduce new items of research and the like. I will now talk about administration; how all these new schemes may be administered and managed. First of all let me refer to inspection. I think it is axiomatic that no system of education attains or remains at a high level unless efficient arrangements are made for adequate and helpful inspection. The Committee was definitely of the opinion that the present arrangements made for inspection are scarcely satisfactory, because so much time is now taken by the Inspectors in what we may call administrative inspection,—inspection of records, inspection of accounts and the like, and the Inspectors themselves are conscious that they have very little time for subject inspection. Inspection should not be an inquisitorial visit on behalf of the department, but it should be a sympathetic and helpful visit in order to help the teachers thoroughly to understand the courses entrusted to them and to help them to improve the methods of teaching. And with that object in view, we have made various recommendations in the Report for a revision and overhauling of the inspectorate. For the inspection of primary and middle schools honourable members will find our recommendations on page 104 of the Report. We think that the district should be retained as the unit and that there should be one District Inspector in each district who should be in general charge of the work. We estimate that the District Inspector should be responsible for about 40 schools and we suggest that an additional Inspector or Assistant Inspector should be

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appointed for every additional 50 schools. Thus, in every district, there would be a team of Inspectors who may sometimes visit schools, singly and sometimes together.

We are of opinion that there is no necessity for a separate men's and women's Inspectorate, but we consider that a women Inspector should be appointed in every district. Thus, a band of men and women, allocating the work among themselves as seems best to them, allotting to each one the particular type of work which is suitable to him or her— that will be the re-organized system of inspection which will be genuinely helpful. With regard to High Schools, we feel that the Division may be retained as the unit.

With regard to the training of teachers, it will be necessary for us to increase the number of seats in the Training College from the present 80 to 120, and it will probably be necessary to increase the number of Training Schools from the present 40 to about 120. That means to say that these Training Schools, in order to train teachers to teach along these new lines, will have a very serious responsibility, and therefore we recommend that there should be an Inspector of Training Schools specially trained somewhere for that purpose, who, in addition to inspection, will have to see that the right kind of teachers is admitted and trained.

Before I close I will say a word about private managements. In our Report we frequently eulogise the work that private managements have been doing for education in Travancore. Somewhere in the Report we have pointed out that the majority of middle schools and high schools are under private managements, and that, judging by results, judging by their zeal and by their efforts, private managements have contributed considerably to education in Travancore. I believe they were poineers in the educational field.

That brings us to the question of departmental or Government aid to these private managements. On the one hand members will agree that it is necessary that the Government through the Department of Education should have adequate control over all private agencies engaged in education. On the other hand it is essential that there should be provision for liberal grants-in-aid, and for this purpose we have recommended that the grant-in-aid rules should be examined and liberalised. There are many claims and many interests to be considered when it comes to the question of financing or subsidising private managements. Therefore we have confined ourselves in our recommendations to a few fundamental principles. I have already said that the basis of any good scheme of education, reformed or antiquated, depends upon the excellence of the teacher. I said, quoting from the Central Advisory Board, that the teaching profession throughout India was miserably paid. I said also that it is the duty of all concerned to see that teachers are kept from penury, want and anxiety, and it is the duty of all concerned to see that they are able to

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live a life of self-respect and at the same time to command the respect of their neighbours. That is the crux of the whole problem. Whether Government can give grants for equipment, libraries, laboratories and furniture, or whether they cannot, the Committee has recommended that the Government should first concentrate upon the teacher and that the grant-in-aid from Government should centre round the vital question of the teachers' salary.

The Comittee's detailed recommendations, which we have been able unanimously to arrive at, will be found in Chapter 9 of the Report. Fundamentally, the Committee accepts the view that all teachers, whether in Government schools or private schools should receive the same rates of salary, and that in the conditions of service and other things there should be no distinction. And it will be the duty of the private managements which will continue to exist, to exert every effort to carry out this recommendation to the utmost. Government are not able and will not be able, with the figures that I quoted to do every thing; but as a practical measure we suggest that in recognition of the sudden additional financial burdens on the managements with the introduction of compulsory primary education, the Government's contribution to primary schools should be a grant equal to 75 per cent. of the salaries. We had to add a rider, that the management should be induced, or coerced or persuaded—you may use whatever word you like—to give the other 25 per cent. We also added as a rider that, in the case of existing schools which have achieved particular distinction, this should not be made a condition for recognition, but that no private managements should be permitted to open new schools unless at the time they apply for such permission, they are already paying their teachers the minimum salary according to the departmental scale. That, I think, may be hard on the management, but it protects the teacher.

With regard to middle and high schools where fees will be collected, we have adopted the same principle. There we have recommended that if the managements are prepared to conform to the departmental rules regarding fee collections, pay of teachers, equipment etc., and deposit their collections in the Government Treasury, then Government should make up the deficiency of teachers' salaries up to 75 per cent, the payment of the teachers' salaries by the management being the first claim on the fee income.

In conclusion I may just say this. In this report, we have endeavoured to deal with the fundamentals and the big things. Thus, there are naturally one or two gaps. No syllabus finds a place in this report, although during our deliberations we had model syllabuses before us. But we thought that it was not for this committee to decide whether this or that syllabus should be used. We thought we should give this work to a syllabus committee who, in the light of their practical experience and more professional knowledge, could devise improved and better ones.

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[Mr. H. C. Papworth.]

I have tried to give you a bird's eye view of our recommendations, which are deliberately designed to change the present system into one which will be more in touch with living things, and which will train young men and women for the life they should lead and the livelihood they must earn in the new conditions we must expect after the war.

PRESIDENT: Order, order. I have now before me a series of resolutions sent in by honourable members in consonance with my request. On going through the report, I find that, as has been stated by the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, the subject of religious instruction has been kept out of this. Evidently honourable members want it to be discussed, and if it is to be discussed, the best time is now, because that goes into other branches of this problem.

Then, on page 5 of the resolutions, I find two notices from two honourable members. Mr. Parameswaran Namboodiri says that the report is incomplete and passes over certain important topics and so discussion of the report may be postponed till all the opinions are included in it. That, of course, will have to be taken up immediately after religious instruction, because if honourable members of the House want everything to be postponed, there will be no further discussion. Mr. T. K. Narayana Pillai wants the report to be referred back and a further report called for. If that is accepted, we will have no discussion now. So after finishing this question of religious instruction, I shall take up in logical order resolutions Nos. 40 and 41 and then go on with the others.

MR. P. O. THOMAS: My resolution is to provide ample facilities for giving religious instruction in the aided schools and colleges in the State.

Before I come to the point involved in this resolution, I congratulate the Government in appointing a very responsible and efficient committee to tackle this very important problem of educational reorganisation. I also congratulate the committee in dealing with this question most thoroughly and submitting a report, the fundamentals of which are, more or less, acceptable to all sections of the public of Travancore.

Coming to the point involved in my resolution.....

PRESIDENT: The ordinary rules in regard to resolutions will be applied to these resolutions as I have already stated, the time limit and all that.

MR. P. O. THOMAS: I will be very brief. Coming to the point involved in my resolution, I am sorry that I differ from the statement from the Chair that this matter, viz., the question of religious instructions is entirely left out of the report. I refer to page 116 of the report.....

PRESIDENT: Order, order. What it has said is that it has stressed the importance of religious instruction. The method of giving that religious instruction, whether it is to be given in or out of class hours, has not been referred to.

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MR. P. O. THOMAS : I refer to page 116 of the report where it is said :

> "The Committee has decided not to offer recommendations on the important problem of religious instructions in schools. The Committee fully realises that religious teaching is an essential and integral part of education, and that the absence of properly organised religious instruction as a part of everyone's schooling leads to a deficiency in personality and character which cannot afterwards be made good. We feel, however, that this very important problem may more profitably be dealt with by a body specially constituted for the purpose."

From that I understand that the committee fully endorses the desirability and the necessity of giving religious instructions with the other branches of education, and if I understand correct, my opinion is that the committee wants the real working of the informal recommendation to be left to a body to be constituted hereafter. I am sure that this informal recommendation or suggestion about such an important matter will be implemented with eagerness by a Government with a deeply religious sovereign and a deeply religious ruling family and advised by a deeply religious minister. As such, I feel no doubt that this Government will hasten to appoint the body suggested by the committee at page 116 at an early date to find out means and devices to work out the details in introducing religious instruction in the schools and colleges of the State generally.

I must also say that the suggestion and conclusion regarding this matter of the committee is inevitable because it can be seen that school-going period is the most important period to mould the character of the young. And if at the time proper convenience for reverenee for religion and fear of the Almighty is not given, the inevitable result will be that the formation of character and personality will be an utter failure. Character and personality go to make a loyal and law-abiding citizen and as such, the conclusion arrived at by the able committee is in consonance with the opinions of reasonable thinking men all over the world. In this connection, may I refer to the Editorial in the Hindu dated the 1st June 1945, wherein they quote with approval the opinion of Mr. H. G. Rawlinson and endorses the view expressed by that famous educationist in the following words ;

> "We have uprooted a system based upon the traditional code of ethics of the East the reverence of the pupil for his teacher, the inculcation of knowledge as a religious obligation and the conception of Dharma or Duty. We have divorced religion from education. They asked for bread and we gave them a stone".

In these very strong words, famous educationists like Mr. Rawlinson have explained the necessity of giving religious education, in the course of the general education and, as such I am sure that many of the members of this House will not question the informal recommendation suggested by this able committee at page 116 of its report.

Then I go to another aspect. My resolution says that ample facilities must be given to have religious education in aided schools and colleges. I may say, in this connection. that the various bodies who undertook costly enterprises in the form of starting costly colleges

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[Mr. P. O. Thomas.]

high schools and other schools, had in their view, to inculcate the ideals of their religion and train the young as far as possible, according to the concept and ideals of the religious to which they belonged. As such, there is an implied duty on the part of the Government and the general public to respond to their wish to train their young in their own community according to their own ideals because they undertook this noble mission not as a commercial proposition, but with the ideal of promoting the proper ideals and to train the children according to the concepts of their religion.

I may say that this applies to every community and I suggest that every community must be given an opportunity to admonish and educate their children on matters of religious principles in their institutions. Ample facilities must be given to them in the new system that is going to be worked out.

PRESIDENT: There is one other question that arises in this connection and no use of shirking it. One has necessarily to face it. I know that certain communities feel very strongly that education is so important as to necessitate that education being made only on the lines of the religious beliefs of that particular community. In other words, if a community thinks that they do not regard any education as useful unless religious instruction is given in an institution run according to their ideas, will those communities find it very embarrassing to give religious instruction to people who do profess the religion of the management in those schools?

MR. P. O. THOMAS: But these are matters, of detail to be worked out by the committee to be appointed.

PRESIDENT: But that is fundamental. It is not a question of being worked out. Is a Catholic or Protestant, or Syrian Christian or Hindu or Muslim school willing to give instruction in a religion which is not their own in their respective schools? That is to say, in a Catholic School, will a Hindu preceptor be also employed for Hindu students, Muslim preceptor for Muslims and so on? Will it be possible for the Catholics to appoint teachers for other religions consistently with their outlook on life? This is a matter which the House will have to decide and arrive at a possible solution. If Government considers that religious instruction is important or paramount, it may be made a compulsory subject of study. In other words, there may be made a regular rule to say that in every institution, religious instruction should be carried out to the students of each community according to the tenets of that community.

MR. P. O. THOMAS: Sir it is a matter which may very well be referred to those authorities who are running such institutions and opinion on that matter may be gathered before it is put into practice. I do not say anything for or against that.

PRESIDENT: What is the opinion of this House on that matter?

MR. P. O. THOMAS: Personally, I do not say anything for or against that suggestion. My argument was to the effect that any religious body who is spending money for the sake of education must be given preferential treatment in respect of students of their own

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community who are attending that institution. Let it be a Christian body or Hindu body or Muslim body. If a Muslim runs an institution and has spent a lot for that and if he wants to give religious instruction to the Muslim students of that institution my suggestion is that Government must give proper encouragement and facilities for them.

PRESIDENT: On that question there will be no difference of opinion. That is, if a Muslim school wants to give instruction in the Quoran and the allied teachings to Muslims, there will be no objection on the part of Government to grant facilities. The question that arises is, is that instruction to be given during school hours or out of school hours? If it is during school hours, what are non-Muslims to do? Are they to be playing in the play fields when the Muslim students are receiving instruction? Will that procedure be right from the point of view of Government, because it is Government who are asked to provide ample facilities for giving religious instruction? Is it not therefore one of the points to be considered, namely, whether if within school hours, all religions or the main religion that is to be taught?

MR. P. O. THOMAS: That is entirely a matter of detail. I will leave it there.

MR. PULIYOOR T. P. VELAYUDHAN PILLAI: Sir, may I know whether the member has any definite opinion on this question?

MR. P. O. THOMAS: I have already stated that it is a question of detail.

PRESIDENT: This is the only question that arises. If religious instruction is useful, it should be imparted in every institution. At all events, Government would do that. How is it to be worked in a particular institution? Supposing in an institution of 1000 students, there are 300 Christians, 300 Muslims and the remaining Hindus. Is it the opinion of the House that there should be instructors in all these religions and are the Government to pay them or some of them? These are fundamental points.

MR. P. O. THOMAS: For instance, if a Muslim institution is giving religious instruction, that management must provide some reasonable occupation for the non-Muslim students. It may not be religious instruction, but all the same some sort of useful and interesting occupation for them.

MR. PULIYOOR T. P. VELAYUDHAN PILLAI: By giving instruction to the students belonging to a particular denomination, will not the Muslims be deprived of that useful occupation?

PRESIDENT: This House should have an idea of the problems which the Government are confronted with.

MR. P. O. THOMAS: I have already suggested one particular aspect which came to my mind and that is before the House. To repeat it, if a Muslim body is running an institution and spending a lot of money for that, preferential treatment should be given to the students of that community with respect to religious instruction.

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MR. M. L. JANARDHANA PILLAI: That is to say, is that money to be spent for purposes of teaching religious instruction alone?

MR. P. O. THOMAS: That money is for general education. For having spent a lot of money, some preferential treatment has to be given. If I remember right, even our President is reported to be a prize winner in Bible study.

PRESIDENT: Notonly that. I never paid any school fees. In all classes, I had scholarship money.

MR. P. O. THOMAS: I also understand, there are eminent men of the calibre of our President who had proficiency in Bible study. So, what I have said is not a novel idea. That practice is in vogue in British India. Tolerance is given to the various institutions in those places. That being the case, my suggestion need not be viewed with any suspicion.

MR. A. P. UDAYABHANU: I ask, is this tolerance attempted to be one sided?

MR. P. O. THOMAS: I do not follow the gist of the question. With these observations I commend my resolution to the consideration of the House. I also appeal to the good sense of the members and may I remind them that my suggestion applies to schools of all communities. In this connection, I may remind the honourable members that if a particular community is having more institutions just now, after some time other communities may have more institutions of their own. This suggestion of mine can be applied, uniformly to all communities. Again, I affirm that my suggestion is not to be viewed with any sort of suspicion. This kind of practice is obtaining in British India and other places.

MR. KAINIKKARA M. PADMANABHA PILLAI (*Secretary to the Education Reforms Committee*): What is the view of the honourable member regarding religious instruction in Government schools?

MR. P. O. THOMAS: Some sort of moral instruction acceptable to all communities may be given in Government schools.

PRESIDENT: That is to say, some instruction which is not religions like the Ten Commandments, portions of Gita etc., may be given. In fact that has been the suggestion in some locality.

MR. P. O. THOMAS: Yes, Sir. There is no objection in pointing out the good things of the Quoran or the Bible or the Gita or whatever it is to the students in Government schools.

PRESIDENT: In other words if it is possible to give very good moral instruction, that course may be adopted.

MR. K. A. MATHEW: Sir, I second it.

MR. M. L. JANARDHANA PILLAI: Sir, I have to speak a few words.

MR. P. O. THOMAS: Sir, I have one more suggestion to make. There is a group of resolutions. Will all of them be put before the House for voting?

PRESIDENT: Discussion can be had on all of them provided they are moved first.

MR. K. A. MATHEW: May I talk on them when the turn comes?

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PRESIDENT: As a matter of fact, one resolution has been moved now. That stands seconded. In course of time I will give a chance to Mr. Janardhana Pillai to speak since the honourable member Mr. Mathew sat down after seconding the resolution.

MR. J. T. MORAIS (*Neyyattinkara* cum *Trivandrum*): Sir, I require some elucidation from the Chair as regards the procedure to be observed in discussing the various resolutions.

PRESIDENT: Only one resolution can be discussed at a time. The resolution now before the House has been seconded and a discussion can go on. As to whomsoever I call for discussion is a matter for my discretion.

MR. J. T. MORAIS: Now, there are several groups of resolutions. I wish to know whether every member will be allowed to speak on each group?

PRESIDENT: Yes. There are nearly two days for discussing this subject. As many resolutions as possible may be discussed.

MR. J. T. MORAIS: My difficulty is this. Supposing a member speaks on religious instruction, will the same member be allowed to talk on Primary Education, Secondary Education and so on.

PRESIDENT: Yes. This is not like a budget grant or cut motion. I regard the resolutions as separate subjects and therefore one honourable member can talk on all these matters when his turn comes. An honourable member who had given his views on religious instruction is not precluded from talking on Primary education or secondary education and so forth.

MR. K. A. MATHEW: Because I had moved another resolution, I thought I could not speak on the present resolution.

PRESIDENT: No. But you can speak on this resolution.

MR. K. A. MATHEW: Before that, may I clear a doubt. After having seconded that, am I withheld from moving my own resolution which reads a little differently.

PRESIDENT: If you want, you can withdraw your seconding and move this as an amendment to the original resolution.

MR. K. A. MATHEW: Sir, I move.

> "While welcoming the emphasis the Education Reorganisation Committee has laid on the needs of religious and moral instruction as a part of schooling, this House requests the Government that a properly representative committee be constituted as early as possible to deal with the question and to propose practical suggestions to the educational institutions in this matter."

MR. A. NESAMONY (*Kalkulam* cum *Vilavancode*): Sir, I second the resolution. Now two questions have been put before the House, one by the President and the other by the Secretary to the Education Reorganisation Committee. Firstly the point is whether religious instruction should be given during or outside class hours. Secondly, as the honourable member stated, while that is going on to one set of students what is it that the other class of students should do? There are aided institutions here which are mostly missionary institutions. I would like to speak on behalf of them because I have something to do with that class of institutions. What was the object with which those institutions

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[Mr. A. Nesamony.]

were started? They were mostly intended, to start with, for training children of their own faith and to make them good citizens. It so happened that in course of time people belonging to other religions also were admitted for certain courses of instruction in these institutions. There has been no manner of compulsion. It was a matter of choice for the children of other religions to attend the religious instruction or not. That is the position so far as religious instruction is concerned with regard to the institutions, I am connected, namely, the L. M. S. Now the instruction is given outside the class hours because of the recent circular from the Education Department. That one hour or half an hour is not included within the class hours. It may so happen that some of the children belonging to other religions may run about the compound while some others may peep in and listen to what is going on in the classes. Out of curiosity some may join in when a song is sung. Or others might step in when devotions are conducted just to see what it is. They are not compelled to it but they are in the compound playing. So it is a thing which could be adjusted. Those private institutions which want to give instructions to their own children in their own religion may have it outside the school hours and if anybody does not choose to attend, there should be no sort of compulsion.

The Secretary to the Reorganisation Committee has asked what about the students that are attending Government schools. So far as that is concerned, to my knowledge, there is no instruction whatever either religious or moral in any of the Government institutions. You might teach a world religion in those schools. It matters little to me whether you teach the Bible, the Gita or the Quoran? It might be hoped that the Committee that may be appointed may form a set of lessons so that no child should be educated in any institution without realising the importance of religion.

So far as aided institutions are concerned, I strongly plead that religious instruction may be allowed to be imparted in the religion to which the management belongs.

MR. M. L. JANARDHANA PILLAI: Sir, I strongly oppose the resolution. I shall just give a few instances that have happened in Travancore during the last quarter of a centuary and more which will support the position that I have taken. About forty years ago just near Alleppey European Protestant Bishops and priests came and wanted to build a church in Thumboli. When they began the construction of the church the catholic church of the neighbouring place protested. Catholics were instructed by the Catholic Bishop not to attend those schools and learn the religious books which were taught in those schools, and the result was that those missionaries had to go to Kottayam. Even now there is a circular issued from time to time by the Catholic Bishops and the head of their churches that their boys should not be allowed to attend Bible classes in schools belonging to Protestants, that they should not be allowed to be corrupted in the ideals and teachings of the Protestants. That is one difficulty.

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Equally so, there are a number of other Christian denominations who may be attending schools organised by Government or aided institutions having grant from Government and there are a number of other Hindus also who might be attending such schools. Instances are not wanting in the past to show that Nair girls, who attended the Baker Memorial High School at Kottayam were induced to study Bible. In the beginning they were told that their English knowledge could be improved and later on it led to an attempt at conversion. It led almost to a serious riot when two sections of the people on either side gathered together menacingly to prevent the conversion of a Nair girl to Christianity. When the parents interfered and when the District Magistrate interfered, the girl said "I am satisfied of my salvation in Christ and that Christ is my Saviour. My parents cannot save me". At last the late Mr. P. K. Narayana Pillai and Mr. S. Krishna Iyer were the two gentlemen who filed a suit and conducted the case and saved the poor girl. I can instance another case where a Vellala girl who went to study in a convent. She was at first induced to learn the Bible. She was also induced in many other ways and finally she was converted and she is working today as a nun in one convent outside Travancore. These are only isolated instances. I can give for the information of this House any number of instances wherein young pupils who attend Bible Classes at first being induced to merely taking a literary interest finally being converted. Therefore, it is very dangerous for any community to be allowed to teach religion in the schools. By all means, let religion have its proper place. Let it have the advantages that it will give to one's own soul. But let it not corrupt the young children by giving some different faith from the faith and the religion into which they and their parents were born. Therefore, in the guise of imparting education to these boys and girls and improving their English they should not be allowed to take the opportunity for conversion, The State has to take the responsibility that religious Education which is finally used for conversion is not taught in our Schools. Of course, there are the prayer rooms, there are houses, there are the buildings where religious instructions can be given as much as they want. But let it not be brought into the arena of education to compel other religionists by direct and indirect methods to attend religious classes and thus create disharmony where harmony exists. With these words, I strongly oppose the motion.

MR. PULIYOOR T. P. VELAYUDHAN PILLAI: May I know whether he is aware that there are instances in which the members of certain families were excommunicated by the religious head on account of sending their children to schools conducted by other missionaries?

PRESIDENT: I want to know whether he is imparting information or asking for information. (*Laughter.*)

MR. P. O. THOMAS: May I know whether there was any compulsion?

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MR. M. L. JANARDHANA PILLAI: It was certainly a matter of compulsion. We tried to get back the girl. The parents could not get access to the girl because the Bishops prevented it. That is not the only case. In Kottayam, a much worse thing happened. The school authorities and the Bishop joined together. Until the Police came and interfered in the matter and saved the Hindu girl the authorities would not let her even to see her parents and relations.

MR. CHAZHIKKATTU JOSEPH: Saved from what?

MR. M. L. JANARDHANA PILLAI: From getting into the hands of other religionists. At last the Division Peishkar had to interfere.

MR. A. NESAMONY: Does the honourable member object to reconversion?

PRESIDENT: The question of conversion or reconversion does not arise.

The question of conversion or reconversion arises only to this extent. If there are chances of the members of one religion attending schools conducted by other religionists you must not allow the possibility of the young persons being influenced by the teaching especially if the teacher is persuasive and capable. Therefore, if a Hindu teacher is persuasive, there is a chance of the non-Hindu becoming a Hindu. Similarly with regard to other religions. If all the communities have got chances of teaching their own religion in an institution, nothing could be better. The only question is what is the course for this House to adopt.

MR. P. S. NATARAJA PILLAI: Sir, the resolution of Mr. P. O. Thomas is to provide ample facilities for giving religious instruction in the aided schools and colleges in the State. Sir, in this connection I would like to bring to the notice of this House that it is a generally accepted proposition everywhere that religious instruction is necessary for character building. That has been accepted not only in England where in the recent 1944 Act provisions are made for religious instruction, but in other countries as well.

MR. VARKALA K. MADHAVAN: What about Russia?

MR. P. S. NATARAJA PILLAI: I am not conversant with Russia.

PRESIDENT: Until five or six years ago there was an anti-religionist school held in every school in Russia in the primary and secondary classes to impart the necessity of having no religion.

MR. P. S. NATARAJA PILLAI: In Travancore this question was considered in 1932 by the Education Reforms Committee and we find that they have stated "In the schools in Travancore which are managed by denomination managements, religious instruction is generally being given, though, under the Rules, it is given outside formal school hours". The report further says "There is one important factor in character training which, in our opinion, should ordinarily play a large part in secondary education; and that is religious education". That is being practically observed now. When that kind of ample facilities are obtainable, I cannot quite appreciate the point of Mr. Thomas

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urging for additional facilities. In the report of the Education Reorganisation Committee they also concede the point that religious education is essential and that some provision should be made without unnecessarily complicating matters. There are proselytising denominational institutions. Certain religionists think that it is a virtue to convert. Certain institutions think that it is their duty to inculcate particular tenets of their religion. So that kind of difficulties may arise and in the face of these difficulties the present committee has recommended that an expert committee should go into the question, consider the matter and make recommendations. And that is the recommendation and the report we are just now considering. It is a matter on which we, as laymen, cannot very easily give any constructive suggestion or come to a decision. That is my point. I would request this House and the honourable member to consider this aspect. This is not a matter on which we can come to a conclusion immediately and off-hand. There are various interests and varying classes of interests. It is our duty to see that some compromise is effected by which the interests of all will be safeguarded. The necessity of religious instruction is conceded by the 1932 Committee and the 1945 Committee. The Government have also accepted the position that religious instruction is essential for a sound character building of the pupils. In that state of circumstances I could only say that the proposition of my honourable friend Mr. Mathew who has tabled a resolution which comes later on wherein he makes a specific recommendation that an expert committee composed of people of different religions and educational experts should be constituted to sit together and evolve a method by which religious education may be imparted without disturbing the existing conditions may be accepted. Till then, ample facilities are available now for the denominational institutions to give religious instructions. My friend Mr. Nesamony was at the point that there are denominational institutions, aided institutions, and it is one of their rights to give religious instructions. I say, as it is today in Travancore, we have ample facilities and it is unnecessary.....

PRESIDENT : That is not the correct way of putting it.

The present system that is being followed in the State is to give religious instructions out of school hours. If it is out of school hours it can be given. There is absolutely no difference of opinion upon the workability of that principle. It is being worked today. If it is sought to be suggested that during school hours religious instructions should be imparted, difficulties in the present system will arise. Otherwise, the position is that out of school hours, either the community gives the instruction or, if there is no organised set of people in the religion and if they are not willing to give money for propagating religion, no instruction is given. It is entirely left to the community. The only question we are discussing here is whether as a part of the college life or discipline, there should be religious instruction or not.

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MR. P. S. NATARAJA PILLAI: My view is that as long as there are ample facilities, under the present rules, for these denominational institutions to give religious instructions, and as long as the present reorganisation Committee has recommended that the matter should be gone into by the expert Committee, I would suggest that this is not the time to go into questions, what changes should be made in the present provision and so on. It is not.....

PRESIDENT: Let us not talk in the air. What sort of committee is that going to be? Who will be the representatives of the Hindus in that Committee? There are the Deacons, the Bishops and the Archbishops so far as the Christian Community is concerned. There are no such institutions in Hinduism. Suppose, there is a Hindu in the Committee who will represent the Committee? Is it the *Madhwas* or the *Smarthas* or the *Vishnavites*? Such conflicting interests will have to be reconciled. In Madura, for example not long ago, in a *Vishnavite* temple there was so much reviling and so much resentment in allowing a Sivite for a particular function; so a riot took place. The question is going to be which religious preceptor is to be represented and which doctrine is to be taught. Is it Sankara's or Ramanuja's teachings that are to be followed? If it is Sankara's followers that is represented and if Ramanuja's men be invited for the instruction, will that be admitted by the other Hindus? I doubt very much. Even my own relations may resent fiercely to Ramanuja's men imparting his tenets. We should not forget all these difficulties...

MR. P. S. NATARAJA PILLAI: That kind of difficulty exists in every religious community.

PRESIDENT: Once the *Madhwas* start teaching their doctrine, they will say that the Sankara's doctrine of advaita is thoroughly wrong and that there should be the *Esah* and the *purusha* and so on.

MR. P. S. NATARAJA PILLAI: Sir, not only these sects, Siva Siddhanta may claim distinction as well, but that kind of sectarian differences exist in the Christian religion as well But it is an organised religion. Unfortunately, Hindus do not recognise the heads of even the organised sects. However that may be, a method by which at least an enlightened body of Hindu opinion on Hindu religion could be got together to sit with other religious scholars and educational experts and they should be asked to devise and to evolve a solution. That is not beyond human ingenuity. It is not an airy proposition but a hard problem for solution. My position is that as long as a specific recommendation made by this committee that a special committee must go into the question, is there, it is only in the fitness of things that this House should accept it. I request this House not to shelve it but to implement it and to appoint a committee to tackle the problem and bring about a solution.

MR. K. R. NARAYANAN: സർ, സ്കൂളുകളിൽ മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം വേണമെന്നുള്ള മി. പി. ടി. തോമ്മസിന്റെ പ്രമേയം ഞാൻ എതിർക്കുന്നു. ഗുരുതരമായ അഭിപ്രായവ്യത്യാസത്തിനും കക്ഷിതിരിഞ്ഞുള്ള

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നിശ്ചിതനിരൂപണങ്ങൾക്കും ഇടയുള്ള ഒരു കഴഞ്ഞ പ്രശ്നമാണു മത വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം. മൂന്നു വാദങ്ങളെ ആശ്രയിച്ചുനിന്നു കൊണ്ടാണ് ഞാൻ ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ എതിർക്കുന്നതു്. ഒന്നാമതു്. മതവിദ്യാഭ്യസം വേണമോ? രണ്ടാമതു വേണമെങ്കിൽ പള്ളിക്കൂടങ്ങളിൽവച്ചുവേണമോ? മൂന്നാമതു വേണമെന്നും പള്ളിക്കൂടങ്ങളിൽവച്ചു വേണമെന്നും വരുന്നപക്ഷം പതിനഞ്ചു വയസ്സിനുമുമ്പുള്ള പ്രൈമറിവിദ്യാഭ്യാസകാലത്തു വേണമൊ? ഇതാണ് മുഖ്യമായ ആ മൂന്നു വാദമുഖങ്ങൾ. ഉൽക്കടമായ അഭിപ്രായവ്യത്യാസമുണ്ടാകാനിടയുള്ള മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം വേണമോ എന്നുള്ളതിൽ തന്നെ എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായം ഒന്നാമതായി രേഖപ്പെടുത്താം. മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം വിദ്യാർത്ഥികൾക്കാവശ്യമാണെന്നു് പണ്ഡിതനായ പ്രസിഡൻറ് അവർകൾ ഒന്നിലധികം പ്രാവശ്യം അസന്നിശ്ചമായ ഭാഷയിൽ വ്യക്തമാക്കിയിരിക്കുന്ന ഈ സന്ദർഭത്തിൽ മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം ആവശ്യമില്ലെന്നു പറയുവാൻ ഭാവിക്കുന്നതുതന്നെ അല്പജ്ഞതയുടെ ധൗദ്ധത്യമായിവരാം. എന്റെ വ്യക്തമായ അഭിപ്രായം—ഖണ്ഡിതമായ അഭിപ്രായം—വിദ്യാർത്ഥികൾക്കു മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം കൊടുക്കുവാൻ പാടില്ലെന്നു തന്നെയാണു. ഈ അവസരത്തിൽ എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായം പറയാതിരുന്നാൽ അതൊരു ആത്മവഞ്ചനയാകും. എന്റെ പുറപ്പാടിൽ വല്ല ധൗദ്ധത്യവുമുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ ആ ധൗദ്ധത്യം ആത്മവഞ്ചനയേക്കാൾ ഞാൻ ഇഷ്ടപ്പെടുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു് മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം ആവശ്യമില്ലെന്നുള്ള എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായം ഉറപ്പിച്ചു പറയുവാൻതന്നെ ഞാൻ ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നു. മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം ആവശ്യമുണ്ടെന്നു പറയുവാൻതന്നെ ചില സുഹൃത്തുക്കൾ വിനിയോഗിക്കുന്ന അഭിപ്രായസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം ഇല്ലെന്നു പറയുവാനാരംഭിക്കുന്ന എനിക്കും വിനിയോഗിക്കാവുന്നതാണെല്ലോ. മതംവേണമെന്നും മതം വേണ്ടന്നുമുള്ള രണ്ടു ചിന്താഗതി ഇന്നുലോകത്തുണ്ടു്. ആദ്യത്തേതിനു രണ്ടാമത്തേതിനെക്കാൾ വേരുറച്ചുവരുന്നു.

MR. A. NESAMONY: Does the honourable member know that there is a Church in Russia?

MR. K. R. NARAYANAN: റഷ്യയിൽ മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസമില്ല. മതവിഷയങ്ങൾ പാഠപുസ്തകങ്ങളിൽ പാടില്ലെന്നപോലും വ്യവസ്ഥയുണ്ടു്. മതം പഠിക്കണമെന്നു നിർബന്ധമുള്ളവർക്കു് വീടുകളിലോ പള്ളികളിലോ ഇരുന്നു മതം പഠിക്കുന്നതിനു തടസ്സമൊന്നുമില്ല. സ്റ്റേറ്റ് എല്ലാവിധത്തിലും മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തെ, മതത്തെ തന്നെ, പ്രോത്സാഹിപ്പിക്കുന്നി

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[Mr. K. R. Narayanan.]

ല്ലെന്ന മാത്രമല്ല നിരീശ്വരാഹപ്പെട്ടുത്തുകയുമാണ ചെയ്യുന്നത്. സോവിയറൂഷ്യയെക്കുറിച്ച് ആട്ടത്തകാലത്തു പേബ് ഒമ്പതികാം എഴുതിയിട്ടുള്ള പുസ്തകം ആധാരമാക്കിയാണ ഞാൻ ഇതു പറയുന്നത്.

MR. A. MESAMONY : Has not Stalin recognised it?

MR. K. R. NARAYANAN : Sir, my time is up, Let me continue.

PRESIDENT : Order, order. We all know that Marshall Stalin declined to have anything to do with the Russian orthodox church till three years ago. And it was not allowed in the Russian scheme of things until later on there was a political concordant between Marshall Stalin and the Russian orthodox church; and now it is very free and the Russian orthodox church is given fairly good treatment. That is fairly well-known.

MR. K. R. NARAYANAN : മതം വേണമെന്നു പറയുന്ന ഒരു നല്ല സെറ്റ് ആളുകാം പണ്ഡിതന്മാരുടെ ഇടയിലുണ്ട്. മതം വേണ്ടെന്നു പറയുന്ന ഒരു നല്ല വിഭാഗക്കാരും പണ്ഡിതന്മാരുടെ ഇടയിലുണ്ടെന്നുള്ള കാര്യം നാം വിസ്മരിക്കരുത്. റസ്സൽ, നെഹറു, വെൽസ്, മുതലായവർ രണ്ടാംസെറ്റിലും മഹാത്മജി, ചർച്ചിൽ, തുടങ്ങിയവർ മന്നാംസെറ്റിലും ഉൾപ്പെട്ടുന്നു. ഈ മഹത്തുക്കളുടെ അഭിപ്രായം നമ്മുടെ കാരോരുത്തരുടേയും ചിന്തക്കു വിഷയമാക്കി വളരണമെന്നാണ് എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായം. ഒരു സ്കൂളിനേയും ഒരു വലിയ ആളിനെയും ചിന്താശൂന്യമായി, അന്ധമായി അനുകരിക്കരുത്. യൂറോപ്യൻരാജ്യങ്ങാം സാക്രിട്ടീസിന്റെകാലം മുതലാണ് ഈ ചിന്താഗതിയിൽ വീണത്. ബുദ്ധനു മുമ്പു ജീവിച്ചിരുന്ന കപിലന്റെ കാലംമുതൽ ഭാരതത്തിൽ ഈ ചിന്താഗതിപരന്നിരുന്നു. ഏതു ശരിയാണെന്നു സ്ഥാപിക്കുവാനല്ല, ഏതു ശരിയെന്നു ചിന്തിക്കുവാനാണ ഞാൻ അഭ്യർത്ഥിക്കുന്നത്. ലെനിന്റെ അഭിപ്രായത്തിൽ മതം കറുപ്പാണ്. ബക്കനിൻ എന്ന ചിന്തകൻ മതം ക്രൂരഭ്രാന്താണെന്നു (Religion is a collective insanity) അഭിപ്രായപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുണ്ട്. മതം ആരു സൃഷ്ടിച്ചു എന്നു വാഷിംഗ്ടണോടു ചോദിച്ചപ്പോാം അദ്ദേഹം പറഞ്ഞതു "ആദ്യത്തെ മണ്ടനെ കണ്ടെത്തിയ ആദ്യത്തെ കള്ളൻ" (The first rogue that met the first fool) എന്നായിരുന്നു. ജനസമുഹത്തെ അന്ധവിശ്വാസത്തിന്മേൽ ചൂഷണം ചെയ്യുന്ന വ്യവസ്ഥകാം എന്നാണല്ലോ ഈ വിവരണം വ്യക്തമാക്കുന്നത്. റഷ്യയിൽ നിന്നും മടങ്ങിവന്ന ജ്ഞാനവൃദ്ധനായ മഹാകവി ടാഗ്രർ, ലോകത്തിനു മതവിദ്വാഭ്യാസം കൊടുക്കുന്നതു, ആളുകളെ അരഞ്ഞാണില്ലാത്ത പൊട്ടക്കിണറിൽ തള്ളിയിടുന്നതിനുതുല്യമാണെന്നു പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ട്. ടാഗ്രറിന്റെ ഈ അഭിപ്രായം പുറത്തുവന്നപ്പോാം വിശ്വമഹാകവിയായ ബർണ്ണാഡ്ഷാ, "ആ കിണറിൽ തെക്കേ അമേരി

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ക്കയിലെ വിഷപ്പാമ്പുകളെക്കൂടിഇട്ടാൽ ഉപമ ശരിയായി" എന്നു പ്രസ്ഥാവിച്ചിരുന്നതു ഞാൻ ഓർക്കുന്നു. പണ്ഡിതവല്ലഭന്മാരും പുകപ്രചിന്തകന്മാരുമായ ഈ വിശ്വമഹാവിദ്വാന്മാർക്കു മതത്തോടും മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തോടും ഉള്ള മനോഭാവം ഇതിൽനിന്നും വ്യക്തമാണല്ലൊ. മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസമില്ലെങ്കിൽ സന്മാർഗ്ഗബോധം തകർന്നു തരിപ്പണമാകുമെന്നു പറയുന്ന ചില സന്മാർഗ്ഗപ്രണയികളുണ്ട്, അവർ മതമാണോ സന്മാർഗ്ഗമാണോ ആദ്യമുണ്ടായതെന്നു ചിന്തിക്കാത്തപരിസരവണക്കക്കാരാണ്. അവർക്ക് സന്മാർഗ്ഗത്തിനു ഒരു മാനദണ്ഡവുമില്ല. മതവും സന്മാർഗ്ഗവും അവിഭാജ്യങ്ങളാണെങ്കിൽ വൈസ്, ടാഗ്രർ, പ്രാംട്ടയർ, ലെനിൻ, നെഹറു, ബോസ്സ്, ഷാ മുതലായവർ എല്ലാം സന്മാർഗ്ഗികളല്ലെന്നു വരും. അവർ സന്മാർഗ്ഗികളാണെന്നു സമ്മതിച്ചാൽ മതം കൂടാതെ സന്മാർഗ്ഗികളാകാമെന്നും വരും. മതവിശ്വാസമുണ്ടായിരുന്ന സ്പെയിൻകാർ വെടിമരുന്നു കണ്ടുപിടിക്കുവാൻ ശത്രുതടവുകാരെ കൈമുറിച്ചു കടലിൽ എറിഞ്ഞതും മതവിശ്വാസത്തിന്റെ കേന്ദ്രസ്ഥലമെന്നു പറയാവുന്ന ഇറ്റലിക്കാർ അബ്സീനിയായെ "കന്നിൻകിടാവിനെ വ്യാഘ്രം പോലെ മാന്തിപ്പൊളിച്ചതും" പോളണ്ടിനേയും ചെക്കോസ്ലോവിയോക്കായേയും ഹിറ്റ്ലരുടെ പാദത്തിൽ ബലിഅർപ്പിച്ചതും മതം കൈയ്വരുത്തിയ സന്മാർഗ്ഗമാണോ. ഒരു രാജ്യത്തെ സന്മാർഗ്ഗം മറ്റൊരു രാജ്യത്തെ സന്മാർഗ്ഗമല്ല. ഒരു കാലത്തെ സന്മാർഗ്ഗം മറ്റൊരുകാലത്തെ സന്മാർഗ്ഗമല്ല. എന്തിന് ഒരു ജനവിഭാഗത്തിന്റെ സന്മാർഗ്ഗം മറ്റൊരു ജനവിഭാഗത്തിന്റെ സന്മാർഗ്ഗമല്ല. വ്യക്തിയും സമുദായവും തമ്മിലുള്ള ശ്രേയസ്സുരമായ്ബന്ധംപുലർത്തുവാൻ ഉത്ഭവിച്ചതാണ് സന്മാർഗ്ഗവ്യവസ്ഥകളെന്നുള്ള മിസ്റ്റർ ചെയസിന്റെ അഭിപ്രായം ഈ അവസരത്തിൽ പ്രത്യേകം ശ്രദ്ധേയമാണ്. മതം തികച്ചും വ്യക്തികാര്യമാക്കണം. നാം വൈദ്യസഹായത്തിനു അലോപ്പതി, ആയുർവ്വേദം, ഹോമിയോപ്പതി മുതലായ വൈദ്യശാഖകളിൽ ഇഷ്ടാനുസരണം തെരഞ്ഞെടുക്കുന്നതുപോലെ ആത്മാവിന്റെ ചികിത്സക്കെന്നു പറയുന്ന മതവും തെരഞ്ഞെടുക്കുവാൻ സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം ഉപയോഗിക്കേണ്ടതാണ്. മതം വ്യക്തികാര്യമായി പരിഗണിക്കുന്ന ചൈനയിൽ എന്തൊരു സുഖം. കൈഷക്ക് ക്രിസ്തുമതവിശ്വാസി. പൂജകളിൽ മഹാഭ്രഷ്ടപക്ഷവും അക്രൈസ്തവർ. ആ വ്യത്യാസം അവർ അറിയാതെ സുഖമായി മുമ്പോട്ടു പോകുന്നു. "മതമേതായാലും മനുഷ്യൻ നന്നാകണം" എന്നുള്ള ശ്രീനാരായണന്റെ ഉപദേശം സ്വീകരിച്ചാൽ ലോകത്തിനു വരാവുന്ന ഗുണത്തിനു ചൈനയിലെ ഈ നില ഉദാ

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[Mr. K. R. Narayanan.]

കാരണമാണ്. മതം വ്യക്തിസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യമായി വിടാതിരുന്നതുകൊണ്ടാണ് രക്തപുഴകൾ ഒഴുക്കിയ കിരിച്ചു യുദ്ധങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടായത്. ഇന്നത്തെ ഇൻഡ്യൻ സ്തംഭനത്തിന്റെ കാരണവും ഇതല്ലാതെ മറെറാന്നമല്ല. അച്ഛന്റെ മതംതന്നെയായിരിക്കണം മക്കളുടെ മതമെന്ന നിർബന്ധം പിടിക്കുന്ന മതഭക്തി കളയണം. ശാസ്ത്രീയമായ അറിവുണ്ടാകുമ്പോൾ ഇഷ്ടമുള്ള മതം വേണമെങ്കിൽ തെരഞ്ഞെടുക്കുവാനുള്ള സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം മക്കൾക്കുണ്ടായിരിക്കേണ്ടതാണ്. അവരുടെ വ്യക്തിസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യത്തെ ശ്വാസം മുട്ടിക്കുന്നതു നമ്മുടെ അറിവും, പരിചയവും, പാരമ്പര്യവും വച്ചു അവരുടെ വികാസത്തിനു വിലങ്ങടിക്കുന്നതു് ഒരിക്കലും നല്ലതല്ല. മതവിഷയത്തിൽ ഉത്തരധ്രുവത്തിലും ദക്ഷിണധ്രുവത്തിലും നിൽക്കുന്ന ഗാന്ധിയും നെഹറുവും രാഷ്ട്രീയകാര്യങ്ങളിൽ അകംചേർന്ന് അണിമുറിയാതെ പോകുന്ന കാഴ്ച ലോകത്തിനു് ഒരു പാഠമായിരിക്കട്ടെ. എന്റെ മകനു ക്രിസ്തുമതം വിശ്വസിക്കുവാനാണ് ഇഷ്ടമെങ്കിൽ അവൻ അതു വിശ്വസിക്കട്ടെ. അവന്റെ ഭാര്യക്കു് മുസ്ലീം മതവിശ്വാസമുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ അതു നാം തടസ്സപ്പെടുത്തേണ്ടാ. അവരുടെ സന്തതി വളർന്നു വരുമ്പോൾ നിർമ്മതവിശ്വാസത്തിൽ എത്തുന്നു എങ്കിൽ അതിനും നാം തടസ്സമുണ്ടാക്കരുതു്. വിവിധവിശ്വാസികൾ ഒരുമിച്ചു സൗഹാർദ്ദമായി കഴിയുവാൻ ഉതകുന്ന അന്തരീക്ഷം ഉണ്ടാക്കണം. കുട്ടികളുടെ വളർച്ചക്കുള്ള കരു, ഇതു വലിപ്പമേ ആകാവൂ എന്നു തീരുമാനിച്ചു നാം തന്നെ സൃഷ്ടിക്കുന്നതു ശരിയാണോ? എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായത്തിൽ അതു ശരികേടാണെന്നുമാത്രമല്ല ബുദ്ധികേടുകൂടിയാണ്. വിശാലമായ ഈ മതവീക്ഷണഗതി വ്യക്തികൾക്കുണ്ടാകുമ്പോൾ ഇന്നത്തെ അസ്വസ്ഥതകളിൽ ഒരു നല്ല ശതമാനം നാമാവശേഷമാകും. മതത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചും, മതപഠനത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചും ഇതു ഭിന്നമായ അഭിപ്രായഗതി നിലവിൽ ഇരിക്കുമ്പോൾ മതം പഠിപ്പിച്ചേ കഴിയൂ എന്നു നിർബന്ധിക്കുന്നതു ശരിയാണോ എന്നു ഞാൻ വിനയപൂർവ്വം ചോദിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

രണ്ടാമത്തെ പോയിന്റു പള്ളിക്കൂടത്തിൽ വച്ചു മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം വേണമെങ്കിൽതന്നെ കൊടുക്കാമൊ എന്നുള്ളതാണ്. മുകളിൽ വിവരിച്ചുമാതിരിയിൽ അഭിപ്രായവ്യത്യാസങ്ങളുള്ളകുട്ടികൾ ഒരുവശം. മറുവശം മതം പഠിപ്പിക്കണമെന്നുവന്നാൽ ഉള്ള പ്രായോഗികവിഷമങ്ങൾ. ഇന്നു നിലവിലിരിക്കുന്ന മതങ്ങൾ, പലതിലും പരസ്പരം ഭിന്നങ്ങളാണ്. മതങ്ങൾ തമ്മിൽ ഭിന്നങ്ങളാണെന്നു മാത്രമല്ല, മതശാഖകൾ തമ്മിൽക്കൂടി ഭിന്നങ്ങളാണ്. ഹിന്ദുമതത്തിനും, ക്രിസ്തുമതത്തിനും പല പല അവാ

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ന്തരവിഭാഗങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടായതു ഇങ്ങനെയാകുന്നു, ഹിന്ദുക്കളുടെ ഇടയിൽ വൈഷ്ണവാദികളും അവൈഷ്ണവാദികളും മാത്രമല്ല, നിരീശ്വരന്മാർ കൂടിയുണ്ടു്. അതെല്ലാം ആ മതവിഭാഗത്തിൽ ഓരോ ആചാര്യന്മാരുടെ കൊടിത്തണലിൽ നില്ക്കുന്ന വിഭാഗങ്ങളാണു്. കത്തോലിക്കരും അകത്തോലിക്കരും തമ്മിൽ സ്വരമായ ഭിന്നതകൾ ഉണ്ടു്. സി. എം. എസ്. ഇതു രണ്ടിലുംനിന്നു ഭിന്നിക്കുന്നു. ലൂതർ ഇതു മൂന്നിൽനിന്നും ഭിന്നിക്കുന്നു പിന്നെയും പിന്നെയും ഭിന്നിച്ചു ഭിന്നിച്ചുകലുന്ന ക്രിസ്തുമത വിഭാഗങ്ങൾ പലതുണ്ടു്. ഭഗവാൻ ക്രിസ്തു തിരിച്ചുവന്നാൽ ഇതാണൊ ക്രിസ്തുമതമെന്നു ശങ്കിച്ചുപോകത്തക്ക വിധത്തിലാണു് ക്രിസ്തുമതത്തിൽ ഇന്നുനിലനില്ക്കുന്ന വിഭാഗങ്ങളെന്നു പ്രൊഫസർ 'നീൽ' ഒരു പ്രസംഗത്തിൽ പ്രസ്താവിച്ചതു ഞാൻ ഓർക്കുന്നു ക്രിസ്തുവിന്റെ പിമ്പെ രക്ഷകൻ വരുന്നു എന്നു് അദ്ദേഹം അരുളിച്ചെയ്തതു്. മഹമ്മദുനബിയെ ഉദ്ദേശിച്ചാണെന്നാണു മഹമ്മദീയരുടെ പക്ഷം. ആ രക്ഷകൻ ഇനിയും വന്നിട്ടില്ലെന്നാണു ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികളുടെ പക്ഷം. ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികൾക്കും മഹമ്മദീയർക്കും ആത്മാവു പ്രാണനാണു്. ഹിന്ദുക്കൾക്കു ആത്മാവു, വാളുകൊണ്ടു വെട്ടിയാൽ മുറിയാത്തതായ, വെള്ളത്തിലിട്ടാൽ നനയാത്തതായ തീയിൽ ഇട്ടാൽ എരിയാത്തതായ ഏതോ ഒന്നാണു്. ആ ആത്മാവാണു ഹിന്ദുവേദാന്തികളുടെ "സത്ത". ബുദ്ധമതം ആത്മാവിനെ കുറിച്ചുതന്നെ ചോദ്യം ചെയ്യുന്നു. ഇങ്ങനെ ഈശ്വരൻ സൃഷ്ടി, മോക്ഷം മുതലായ കാര്യങ്ങളിൽ മാത്രമല്ല, ആചാരാനുഷ്ഠാനങ്ങളിലും മതങ്ങൾ യോജിക്കുന്നതിനെക്കാൾ ഭിന്നിക്കുകയാണു് കൂടുതൽ അംശങ്ങളിലും കാണുന്നതു്. ഈ ഭിന്നമതങ്ങൾ ഭിന്നമതവിശ്വാസികളായ ഭിന്നസമുദായക്കാരായ വിദ്യാർത്ഥികളെ പഠിപ്പിക്കുന്നതു—പള്ളിക്കൂടത്തിൽ വച്ചു പഠിപ്പിക്കുന്നതു—സമുദായസൗഹാർദ്ദം പുലർത്തുകയാണോ കശാപ്പു ചെയ്യുകയാണോ ചെയ്യുവാനിടയുള്ളതെന്നു അനുഭവങ്ങളും മനുഷ്യവാസനകളും വച്ചു് നാം ആലോചിക്കണം. ഗോപസ്ത്രീകളുടെ ഉടയാടയുമായി അരയാലിൽ കൊമ്പത്തിരുന്ന നേരംപോക്കുകാരൻ പറയുന്ന ശ്രീകൃഷ്ണൻ ചിലരുടെ നിശിതനിരൂപണങ്ങൾക്കു വിഷയമാകാം. കുരിശിൽക്കിടന്നു ദാഹിച്ചുവെള്ളം കുടിക്കയും കർത്താവിനെ വിളിക്കയും ചെയ്യുന്ന ക്രിസ്തുദേവനും ചിലർക്കു നിരൂപണവിഷയമാകാം. ഇങ്ങിനെയുള്ള സന്ദർഭങ്ങളിൽ അദ്ധ്യാപകനും അദ്ധ്യേതാക്കളും മതാതീതരുവാരമായി തിരിയത്തക്ക ഒരു നിലയാണു നമുക്കുള്ളതു്. ഈ നില പള്ളിക്കൂടത്തിലുണ്ടാക്കുന്നതു നല്ലതാണോ എന്നു പ്രമേയത്തോടു് അനുഭാവമുള്ള

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[Mr. K. R. Narayanan.]

വർ ആലോചിക്കേണ്ടതാണ്. മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിനു വളരെ അനുകൂലിയായ മഹാത്മജിയുടെ വാർദ്ധാപദ്ധതിയിൽ മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം ഉൾപ്പെടാതെ വന്നതു ഈ വിഷമങ്ങൾ ഓർത്തായിരിക്കാം. കൊളമ്പിയാ യൂണിവേഴ്സിറ്റിയിലെപ്രൊഫസർ കൻഡൽ (Kandel) എന്ന പണ്ഡിതൻ പ്രസിദ്ധീകരിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള "സ്റ്റഡീസ് ഇൻ കംപാരിറ്റീവ് എഡ്യൂക്കേഷൻ" എന്ന പുസ്തകത്തിൽ മതപരമായ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം സ്കൂളുകളിൽ വച്ചു കൊടുക്കുന്നതു് ആശ്വാസ്യമല്ലെന്നു സമർത്ഥിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. മദ്രാസ് എഡ്യൂക്കേഷൻ പദ്ധതിയിലാകട്ടെ, ബാംബേപ്ലാനിലാകട്ടേ, സ്കൂളുകളിലെ മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിനു ഒരു സ്ഥാനവും കല്പിച്ചിട്ടില്ല. ഈ വിവരങ്ങൾ നമുക്കു നൂതനമായ ഒരു ചിന്താഗതി തരുന്നു എന്നാണ് എന്റെ വിശ്വാസം. വിദ്യാർത്ഥികൾ വിവിധവിഷയങ്ങളിൽ അറിവുള്ളവരാകട്ടെ; അവരുടെ അറിവിനു ശാസ്ത്രങ്ങൾ പുതിയ പുതിയ വഴികൾ തുറക്കട്ടെ. അങ്ങനെ അറിവു് ശാസ്ത്രീയമായി ചിന്താശക്തി വളർന്നു വന്നു് ഓരോരുത്തരും മതവിശ്വാസികളോ, മതവിശ്വാസമില്ലാത്തവരോ ആയിക്കൊള്ളട്ടേ.

മൂന്നാമതായി—അതായതു്, അവസാനമായി മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം പള്ളിക്കൂടത്തിൽവച്ചു കൊടുക്കണം എന്നതിനെ വാദത്തിനുവേണ്ടി സമ്മതിക്കാം. മതം അതിമഹനീയമായ ഒരു വിഷയമാണ്. അതു പഠിക്കേണ്ടതു് ഈ ശിശുപ്രായത്തിൽ പൂ, പൂച്ച, പൂച്ചട്ടി പഠിക്കുന്ന ഈ ശിശുപ്രായത്തിൽ ആകുന്നതു ശരിയാണോ, പ്രായോഗികമാണോ, ഗുണകരമാണോ എന്നു നാം ചിന്തിക്കണം. കാളിദാസന്റെ ശാകുന്തളം ശൃംഗാരം വിശേഷാത്തരമാണെന്നു കരുതി നാലാംക്ലാസ്സിലെ കുട്ടികളുടെ നേരെത്തു് "കചവയം കചപരോക്ഷ മന്മഥോ" എന്നു തുടങ്ങിയാൽ അവർക്കു വല്ല ഗന്ധവും കിട്ടുമോ? വെടിക്കെട്ടുപോലെ കുറെ ശബ്ദജാലങ്ങൾ കേൾപ്പിക്കാമെന്നുമാത്രം. നമതം പഠിപ്പിക്കണമെന്നു പറയുന്നതു വാദത്തിനു സമ്മതിച്ചാൽതന്നെ രണ്ടാമതായി പ്രതിപാദിച്ച പ്രയാസങ്ങൾ എല്ലാം തന്നെ ചെയ്യാൻ സാധ്യതകൾ ഉണ്ടായാൽതന്നെ ഈ പിഞ്ചുഹൃദയങ്ങളിൽ എങ്ങിനെയാണു മതതത്വങ്ങൾ ചെലുത്തുന്നതു്? വളരെ വിഷമമുള്ള ഈ കായ്യം വേണമെന്നു നിർബന്ധിക്കുന്നതു സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യചിന്ത അവർക്കു വരുന്നതിനുമുമ്പു്, യുക്തിവിചാരം അവർക്കുണ്ടാകുന്നതിനു മുമ്പു ഓരോ കുട്ടിയേയും മതമയക്കുമരുന്നുകൊടുത്തു അന്ധവിശ്വാസമാകുന്ന ഇരുമ്പഴിക്കുള്ളിൽ അടയ്ക്കണമെന്നു കരുതി മാത്രമാണ്. യുക്തി അകത്തു ചെല്ലുന്നതിനുമുമ്പു വിശ്വാസം അകത്തുറപ്പിക്കണം. വിശ്വാസത്തിനു യുക്തി, ഇതാണ് മതവാദികളുടെ മുദ്രാവാക്യം. യുക്തി

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വാദികൾ യുക്തിഅനുസരിച്ചു വിശ്വാസം മുടവാക്യമാക്കും. When fairth comes in reason goes out. എന്നൊരു ചിന്തകൻ പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ളതു പലരും അറിഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ളതാണല്ലൊ. ഇന്നത്തെപത്തിലെ വരാവു എന്ന കരുതി പാത്രങ്ങൾ വാക്കുവാൻ മൂശകൾ ഉണ്ടാക്കുന്നതുപോലെ വിദ്യാർത്ഥികളെവാക്കുവാൻ മൂശകൾ കരുപ്പിടിക്കുന്നതു അശാസ്ത്രീയമാണ്. അതു് മനഃശാസ്ത്രത്തിനു ചെയ്യുന്ന അപകടകരമായ ശസ്ത്രക്രിയയാണു്. മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം അപരിത്യാജ്യമായികരുതുന്നവർ അവരവരുടെ വീടുകളിലും മതസ്ഥാപനങ്ങളിലുംവച്ചു് ഈ കൃത്യം ചെയ്യരുതോ എന്നുകൂടി ഞാൻ ചോദിച്ചു കൊള്ളട്ടേ. മതവിഷയമായി നിലവിലിരിക്കുന്ന ആധുനികമായ സ്വതന്ത്ര്യചിന്തയുടെ പശ്ചാത്തലത്തിൽ നിന്നു് മഹാത്മാഗാന്ധി, മദ്രാസ് കമ്മറുക്കാർ, മുതലായവർ ആധുനികകാലത്തു് ഉണ്ടാക്കിയിട്ടുള്ള വിദ്യാഭ്യാസപദ്ധതികളുടെ പശ്ചാത്തലത്തിൽനിന്നു്, സർവ്വോപരി മനഃശാസ്ത്രത്തിന്റെയും തടസ്സംകൂടാത്ത മനുഷ്യവികാസത്തിന്റെയും പശ്ചാത്തലത്തിൽ നിന്നു്, മി. തോമ്മസിന്റെ പ്രമേയം ഞാൻ എതിർക്കുന്നു.

MR. P. KOCHUKRISHNA PILLAI: The question raised by the honourable mover is on the most difficult and controversial subject. It has become more difficult and more controversial by the nature in which the resolution has been framed and the argument of the honourable mover in support of the resolution. Though several questions were put to him as to the exact scope of the resolution he simply evaded an answer. He said it was a matter for the actual working of the programme and was not able to give the time in which religious instruction should be given, or whether it is irrespective of the caste or religion to which the pupils belong, that religious instruction should be imparted.

Sir, my submission is, that the resolution as framed and the arguments in support of it cannot, in any event, be supported; because, it is against the sentiment of religion of every community. Further, if religious instruction is to be imparted in the classes irrespective of the religion to which the students belong, it may not find favour with every community. One can fully understand religious instruction being given, without School hours, in Private Institutions, to students of the respective groups to which the institutions belong. In other words, in a denominational institution belonging to a particular group of people religious instruction should be given without School hours, to pupils of that group. These instructions can be imparted in denominational institutions by the respective agencies. But it cannot be supported for a moment if one adumbrates the view that religious instruction should be imparted in denominational institutions in the State irrespective of the caste or religion of the students. It is highly controversial and dangerous and will lead to anomalous results. Therefore, the resolution as framed is highly objectionable and cannot be supported. I, therefore, oppose the resolution.

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MR. K. T. MICHAEL (*Changanacherry cum Peermade*): Sir, I support the resolution moved by my friend Mr. Thomas. In doing so I wish to point out that there has been a misunderstanding as regards the scope of the resolution and also the scope of the subject before the House today. Of course the discussions arose out of the fact that there is a passage in the report that the question of religious instruction to students in schools will be considered by a committee which is to be constituted afterwards. I may say and I can also assure the House that my views will be shared by members of my own community when I say, that we do not want religion to be taught during class hours. We want to teach religion as we do now outside class hours and to students belonging to our own community. As for the.....

PRESIDENT: As to that point there is absolutely no objection, and there *will* not be any.

MR. K. T. MICHAEL: That is why, I said, there has been a misunderstanding as to the scope of the discussion here. As for the other question that has been put by the President, namely, whether the school authorities will permit or arrange for religious instruction to members of other communities, it is a problem which requires further clarification.....

PRESIDENT: Order, order. That problem will never arise if religious instruction is not given within school hours. Because, if instruction is given outside school hours, it will be entirely a voluntary effort by the religious communities who are profoundly convinced of the necessity to instruct in their own religions.

MR. K. T. MICHAEL: I do not wish to say anything more on the matter now. As for the points raised by my friend Mr. K. R. Narayanan, I may say that they need not be answered here and now because he will be a singular instance of persons holding those views in this House.

MR. R. MADHAVAN NAIR: ഞാൻ ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ ശക്തിയായി എതിർക്കുന്നു. മതപരമായ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം സ്കൂളുകളിൽ ഏർപ്പെടുത്തി നമ്മുടെ വിദ്യാലയങ്ങളെ ദേവാലയങ്ങളാക്കുന്നതിലൂടെ ഇന്നത്തെ ലോകത്തിന്റെ പുരോഗതിയെ വീക്ഷിച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്ന ഒരുവനും തീർച്ചയായും അനുകൂലിക്കാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ല. കുട്ടികൾക്ക് സാന്മാർഗ്ഗികബോധം ജനിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനെ ഞാനും എതിർക്കുന്നില്ല. എന്നാൽ മനുഷ്യനേയും മനുഷ്യനേയും തമ്മിൽ അകറ്റി നിർത്തി സമുദായത്തെ ചിന്നഭിന്നമാക്കുന്ന ഈ രീതി രാഷ്ട്രത്തെ എതിർക്കുന്നു. അധഃപതിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നുള്ളതിന് സിലോൺഫ്രാൻസ് തകർന്നു കണ്ടുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്ന നമുക്ക് വേറൊരുദാഹരണത്തിന്റെ ആവശ്യമില്ല. മതപരമായ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നൽകുന്നതോടുകൂടിത്തന്നെ ഇതരമതങ്ങളെപ്പറ്റിയുള്ള ഒരു വിദ്വേഷവും ശിശുഹൃദയങ്ങളിൽ വളരുക എന്നത് സ്വാഭാവികം മാത്രമാണ്.

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ഇതു് ജനസമുദായത്തെ തമ്മിൽ തല്ലിക്കുന്നതിനുള്ള ഒരൊന്നാന്തരം മാർഗ്ഗമായി മാത്രമേ കലാശിക്കു. പൂർവ്വചരിത്രത്തിലേക്കു കണ്ണോടിക്കുന്നപക്ഷം മതത്തിന്റെ പേരിൽ എത്രമാത്രം രക്തം നമ്മുടെ പൂർവ്വികന്മാർ ചൊരിഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നു എന്നുള്ളതു് ഹൃദയവേദനയോടുകൂടിയേ ഒരുവനു ചിന്തിക്കാൻ കഴിയൂ. മതത്തിന്റെ ഈ നാശോന്മുഖമായ ഗതി കണ്ടിട്ടുതന്നെയാണു് റഷ്യ മുതലായ പരിഷ്കൃത രാജ്യങ്ങളിൽ മതചിന്ത ഉൻമൂലനം ചെയ്യപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുള്ളതു്. ലോകത്തിന്റെ ഗതി ഈ നിലയിലിരിക്കേ നമ്മുടെ നാട്ടിലെ കുഞ്ഞുങ്ങളെപ്പോലും മതം പഠിപ്പിച്ചു് മതാന്ധരാക്കിത്തീർക്കണമെന്നുള്ള ഈ പ്രമേയം വളരെ വിചിത്രമായിരിക്കുന്നു. വിശേഷിച്ചും സകല ജാതിക്കാർക്കും സമതുലമുണ്ടായിരിക്കണമെന്നുള്ള സദുദ്ദേശത്തോടുകൂടി വർഗ്ഗീയവ്യത്യാസം നിർദ്ദോഷം ഇല്ലാതാക്കുന്നതിനുവേണ്ടി ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനവിളംബരം തുല്യംചാർത്തി നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തിയ ഈ ധർമ്മഭൂമിയിൽ മതത്തിന്റെ പേരിൽ മനുഷ്യനെ തമ്മിൽ തല്ലിക്കുവാനുള്ള ഈ സംരംഭം സർവശക്തികളും ഉപയോഗിച്ചു് തടയേണ്ടതാണു്.

MR. A. NESAMUNI Sir, one point of order. Is the honourable member entitled to read his speech

MR. R. MADHAVAN NAIR No, Sir, I am not reading. (Laughter)

PRESIDENT : There are two ways of dealing with the notes. (Laughter) The honourable member may adopt the more constitutional way.

MR. R. MADHAVAN NAIR : സ്കൂളുകളിൽവെച്ചു മാത്രമല്ല പൊതുസ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ വച്ചുപോലും മതപരമായ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസമോ, പ്രോഷ്ണങ്ങളോ നടത്തുന്നതിനെ നിരോധിക്കണമെന്നാണു് എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായം. മതവിദ്വേഷം തിരുവിതാംകൂറിനു മാത്രമല്ല ഇൻഡ്യക്കു ഒട്ടാകെ വരുത്തിക്കൂട്ടിയിട്ടുള്ളതും വരുത്തിക്കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നതുമായ അധഃപതനത്തെപ്പറ്റി ചിന്തിക്കുന്ന ഹൃദയമുള്ള ഒരുവനും ഈ പ്രമേയത്തോടനുകൂലിക്കുമെന്നു തോന്നുന്നില്ല. മറ്റു രാജ്യങ്ങളിൽ മതവൈരാഗ്യം നിമിത്തം ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ള ഭയങ്കര വിപത്തുകളെ മനസ്സിലാക്കി മതത്തിനു യാതൊരു സ്ഥാനവും കൊടുക്കാതിരിക്കുന്ന ഈ കാലത്തു് നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യത്തു് നട്ടുവളർത്തി പരിപോഷിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനു തുനിയുന്നതു് വളരെ കഷ്ടമാണു്. അതൊരിക്കലും രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ പൊതുനന്മയെ പുരോഗമിപ്പിക്കുകയില്ല. സമുദായങ്ങൾ തമ്മിലുള്ള യോജിപ്പു് വിഘാതപ്പെടുത്തുകയായിരിക്കും ചെയ്യുന്നതു്. തദ്വാര രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ രാഷ്ട്രീയവും സാമ്പത്തികവു

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[Mr. R. Madhavan Nair.]

മായ പുരോഗതിക്ക് പ്രതിബന്ധമായിതീരുകയും ചെയ്യും. മതം ഏതായാലും മനുഷ്യർ നന്നാകണമെന്നും ഒരുജാതി ഒരുമതം ഒരുദൈവം മനുഷ്യനെന്നും മറ്റുമുള്ള ശ്രീനാരായണഗുരുദേവന്റെ പ്രവചനങ്ങൾ ഇൻഡ്യയുടെ നാശോന്മുഖമായ അധഃപതനത്തെ ദീർഘദർശനം ചെയ്തതിന്റെ ഫലമാണെന്നു തോന്നുന്നു.

MR. J. K. MORAIS: The resolution of the honourable member Mr. Thomas reads: "This House recomends to Government to provide ample facilities for giving religious instruction in the aided schools and colleges in the State." It is agreed that religious instruction forms the basis of moral instruction and moral instruction is absolutely necessary for the building of character of our young students. The only question is how to impart religious instruction in a State where there are conflicting religions and in a School where students of many religions attend the classes. Again it should be known whether the instruction should be within school hours or without school hours. I believe the honourable member Mr. Thomas suggested that a committee is to be appointed to decide how best to impart religious instruction. There is no difficulty in accepting that. He did not insist that religious instruction should be imparted within school hours. He wanted only the right of imparting religious instruction in schools. Much argument has been wasted in saying whether religious instruction is at all is necessary. One honourable member went even to the extent of saying that no religious instruction was necessary because much blood has been shed in the name of religion. I do not think so. I would ask whether more blood has not been shed in the name of democracy. But that is no reason why you should not advocate democracy, and therefore it is no argument. The only question as I said before is how to formulate the best method of imparting religious instruction—whether it should be done out of the school hours or within school hours. If it is the opinion of the House that it should be done without school hours, that right may be freely conceded to denominational schools. That is what is required. If there is any difficulty *viz.* if religious instruction could not be imparted within school hours on account of the fact that there are students of many religious denominations, then that right need not be conceded at all though the right to impart religious instruction outside school hours should be conceded.

MR. PULIYOOR T. P. VELAYUDHAN PILLAI: If it is conceded that religious instruction may be given outside school hours, is it necessary that a committee should be constituted for the purpose?

MR. J. T. MORAIS: If this House does not think it is necessary it need not be constituted.

MR. P. S MAHOMED: സർ, ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെപ്പറ്റി ഒന്നുംതന്നെ പറയണമെന്നു ഞാൻ ആദ്യം വിചാരിച്ചിരുന്നതല്ല. എന്നാൽ ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെപ്പറ്റിയുള്ള വാഗ്വാദപ്രതിവാദത്തിനിടയ്ക്കു നിർമതത്തെയും നിരീശ

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രവാദത്തെയുംപറ്റി ചില മെമ്പറന്മാർ ചർച്ചചെയ്യുന്നതു കണ്ടപ്പോൾ എനിക്കും ഒരു സംഗതി പറഞ്ഞാൽകൊള്ളാമെന്നുള്ള ആഗ്രഹംകൊണ്ടു് എഴുന്നേറ്റതാണു്. മതം വേണ്ട എന്നു പറയുന്നവർ ഇന്നു ലോകത്തു കാണുന്ന സകല അഴിമതികളുടേയും അക്രമങ്ങളുടേയും ഉൽഭവസ്ഥാനം മതമാണെന്നു പറഞ്ഞുകൊണ്ടുവരുന്ന വാദത്തിനു അടിസ്ഥാനമില്ല. അതിന്റെ കാരണം മനുഷ്യന്റെ ഉമ്മത്തമാണു്. ആ ഉമ്മത്തത്തെ നശിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനായിട്ടായിരുന്നു മതം ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നിട്ടുള്ളതു്. മതം ആ വിഷയത്തിൽ പരാജയപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുണ്ടു്. ലോകത്തു ഇതുവരെ നടന്നിട്ടുള്ളതും ഇപ്പോൾ നടക്കുന്നതുമായ അക്രമങ്ങൾ സാമ്പത്തികമോ രാഷ്ട്രീയമോ ആയ കാരണത്താൽ മാത്രമാണു്. അതായതു്, ഏതെങ്കിലും ഒരു രാഷ്ട്രം മറ്റൊരു രാഷ്ട്രത്തെ അടിമപ്പെടുത്തുന്നതിനോ, സാമ്പത്തികമായി ചൂഷണം ചെയ്യുന്നതിനോ, ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു മാത്രമാണു്. അതു കൊണ്ടു് മതമല്ലാ, ഈ കുഴപ്പങ്ങൾക്കെല്ലാം കാരണമെന്നു മനസിലാക്കണം. ഈ തിരുവിതാംകൂറിൽതന്നെ അനവധി ആളുകളെ തൊട്ടുകൂടാതേയും കണ്ടുകൂടാതേയും തള്ളിക്കളഞ്ഞ സമ്പ്രദായം നടപ്പിൽ ഇരുന്ന മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസിലെ കാരുണ്യമുണ്ടായി മതത്തിന്റെ യഥാർത്ഥമായ ഉദ്ദേശപരിധിക്കുള്ളിൽ അവരെക്കൂടി ഉൾപ്പെടുത്തുവാൻ ഇടയായതു് മതത്തിന്റെ യഥാർത്ഥമായ മഹത്വത്തെ പൊന്നതിരുമേനി മനസ്സിലാക്കിയതുകൊണ്ടു മാത്രമല്ലെ? മതത്തിന്റെ പേരിൽ മനുഷ്യൻ ഉണ്ടാക്കിയ വിക്രിയകൾകൊണ്ടു ചില കുഴപ്പങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുണ്ടു്. അതിന്റെ കാരണം മനുഷ്യന്റെ ദുരാഗ്രഹം മാത്രമാണു്. നിരാശ്രയായ മതം ഇന്നു അതിനു ഉത്തരം പറയണമെന്നു പറയുന്നതു മനുഷ്യന്റെ അഹംഭാവത്തിന്റെ മറ്റൊരു ലക്ഷണമാണു്.

Ms R MADHAVAN NAIR : മതം സ്കൂളുകളിൽ പഠിപ്പിക്കണോ അതോ വേണ്ടയോ എന്നാണു് ഇവിടത്തെ പ്രശ്നം?

MR. P. S. MAHOMED ഞാൻ അതിനെപ്പറ്റി പറയാനാണു് വന്നതു്. പരസ്പരം സ്നേഹിക്കുവാനും സമാധാനപൂർവം പ്രവർത്തിക്കുവാനുമാണു് മതം മനുഷ്യരെ പഠിപ്പിക്കുന്നതു്. ഹൃദയമുള്ള മനുഷ്യരെ സൃഷ്ടിപ്പെടുത്തുവാനും ആശ്വാസം വേണ്ടവർക്കു അതു നൽകുവാനും ഉതകുന്നതാണു് മതം. അതു ചെറിയ കുട്ടികളെ പഠിപ്പിക്കേണ്ടതു അത്യാവശ്യമാണു്. എല്ലാമതവും ഒന്നാണെന്നുള്ള വാദം കേൾക്കാൻ സുഖമുണ്ടെങ്കിലും അതു എല്ലാവരും സമ്മതിച്ചതുമെന്നു ഞാൻ വിശ്വ

[Mr. P. S. Mohamed]

സിക്കുന്നില്ല. എന്നാൽ എല്ലാമതങ്ങളുടേയും ഉദ്ദേശം ഒന്നാണെന്നു എല്ലാവരും സമ്മതിക്കുമെന്നുള്ളതിനു സംശയമില്ല. ഓരോ മതക്കാക്കും അവരവരുടെ മതസിദ്ധാന്തങ്ങളിൽ നല്ലഭാഗം ഏതാണെന്നു തോന്നുവോ ആ ഭാഗം എടുത്തു എല്ലാവരെയും പഠിപ്പിക്കുന്നതു നന്നായിരിക്കും. അങ്ങനെ ആയിരുന്നാൽ മതത്തിലും കമ്മ്യൂണിസം കയറാതെ കഴിഞ്ഞുകൂടുവാൻ സാധിക്കും.

MR. S. SANKARA NARYANAN TAMPI (*Karunagapally cum Kartikapally*) ഈ കമ്മ്യൂണിസ്റ്റുകാരെകൊണ്ടുള്ള ശല്യം എന്താണെന്നു പറയാമോ?

MR. P. S. MAHOMED : രാജ്യത്തിനു ആവശ്യമല്ലാത്ത ചില സിദ്ധാന്തങ്ങളെല്ലാം വിളിച്ചുവരുത്തി ഒടുവിൽ ഗവണ്മെൻറിനെ വിഷമിപ്പിക്കുന്ന ഒരുകൂട്ടം ആളുകളാണ് ഈ കമ്മ്യൂണിസ്റ്റുകാർ.

MR. S. SANKARA NARYANAN TAMPI : ഇവരെക്കൊണ്ടുള്ള എന്തുപദ്രവമാണ് രാജ്യത്തിനുണ്ടായതു് എന്നു പറയുമോ?

MR. P. S. MAHOMED : ഏതായാലും അതിലേക്കു ഞാൻ ഒരുങ്ങുന്നില്ല. രാജ്യത്തു അസമാധാനം ഉണ്ടാകുമെന്നുള്ള നിലയിൽ ഇവർ ചില രംഗങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടാക്കിത്തീർത്തു. ഇതിൽ കൂടുതൽ ഞാൻ അതിനെപ്പറ്റി പറയുന്നില്ല.

MR. S. SANKARA NARYANAN TAMPI : കമ്മ്യൂണിസ്റ്റുകാരെപ്പറ്റി മെമ്പറിനു ഒന്നും അറിഞ്ഞുകൂടാത്തതുകൊണ്ടാണൊ ഇതിൽ കൂടുതലൊന്നും പറയുന്നില്ല' എന്നു പറഞ്ഞതു്?

MR. P. S. MAHOMED : ഏതായാലും എനിക്കു ഇപ്പോൾ അതിനു സമയമില്ല.

സർ, യഥാർത്ഥമായ മതബോധം ഉണ്ടാകത്തക്ക നിലയിൽ മതാദ്ധ്യയനം അത്യാവശ്യമാണു്. എന്നാൽ അതു പള്ളിക്കൂടത്തിൽവെച്ചു വേണോ അതോ വേണ്ടയോ എന്നാണു് ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ പ്രശ്നം. പള്ളിക്കൂടത്തിൽവെച്ചായാലും കൊള്ളാം അല്ലെങ്കിലും കൊള്ളാം മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നൽകേണ്ടതാണു്. പ്രായപൂർത്തിവന്നശേഷം മതിയോ അതോ ചെറുപ്പത്തിൽതന്നെ വേണമോ എന്നതാണു് അടുത്ത പ്രശ്നം മി. നാരായണൻ പറയുന്നു, അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ മക്കൾ അദ്ദേഹം വിശ്വസിക്കുന്ന മതത്തിൽതന്നെ ഇരിക്കണമെന്നു് അദ്ദേഹത്തിനു നിർബന്ധമില്ലെന്നു്. എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായം അങ്ങിനെയല്ല. ഞാൻ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്ന മതം നല്ലതാണെന്നും അതുകൊണ്ടു് എന്റെ മക്കളും ആ മതത്തിൽതന്നെ ആയിരിക്കണമെന്നും ഞാൻ ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നു. എന്നുമ്പോലെയുള്ള രക്ഷാകർത്താക്കൾ അങ്ങിനെ ആഗ്രഹിക്കുമെന്നാണു് എന്റെ വിശ്വാസം.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

MR. K. R. NARAYANAN: മി പി. എസ്സ്. മഹമ്മദിന്റെ മകൻ ക്രിസ്ത്യാനിറ്റി പഠിക്കയും ഒടുവിൽ അതിൽ വിശ്വസിച്ചു ഒരു ക്രിസ്ത്യാനിയായിത്തീരുകയും ചെയ്താൽ മെമ്പർ അതിനെ വിസമ്മതിക്കുമോ?

MR. P. S. MAHOMED : ഞാൻ അതിനെത്തന്നെയാണ് ഏതുക്കുന്നതു്. ഞാൻ നല്ലതാണെന്നു വിശ്വസിക്കുന്ന മതത്തെപ്പറ്റി എന്റെ മകനെ പഠിപ്പിക്കാതെ, മറ്റൊരുമതം നല്ലതാണെന്നു അവനെ പഠിപ്പിക്കാൻ ഇടയാക്കുന്ന ഒരു പരിതസ്ഥിതി നാം സൃഷ്ടിക്കരുതു്.

MR. K. SUKUMARAN (*Nominated*) : അതുകൊണ്ടു പള്ളിക്കൂടത്തിൽ മതം പഠിക്കണൊ, അതോ വേണ്ടയോ, എതാണ് മെമ്പറിന്റെ അഭിപ്രായം?

MR. P. S. MAHOMED : പറയാം. കഴിയുമെങ്കിൽ എല്ലാ മതങ്ങളേയുംപറ്റി പഠിപ്പിക്കാൻ തക്ക സൗകര്യം പള്ളിക്കൂടത്തിൽ ഉണ്ടാക്കിക്കൊടുക്കുന്നതിനുള്ള ഒരു വ്യവസ്ഥചെയ്താൽ കൊള്ളാമെന്നാണ് എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായം. എന്നാൽ എന്റെ സ്നേഹിതൻ കൊണ്ടുവന്ന ഈ പ്രമേയം അതേപടി സ്വീകരിക്കാൻ എനിക്കു നിവൃത്തിയില്ല. അദ്ദേഹം, ഇതു് എയിഡഡ് സ്കൂളുകളിലും കാളേജുകളിലും മതിയെന്നമാത്രമെ പ്രമേയത്തിൽ പറയുന്നുള്ളൂ. എയിഡഡ് സ്കൂളുകളിലും കാളേജ്കളിലും പഠിക്കാത്ത ഒരു വലിയവിഭാഗം വിദ്യാർത്ഥികൾ മതപഠനം ഇല്ലാത്തവരായി അവശേഷിക്കുന്നു. എന്നാൽ അവക്കുകൂടി മതാദ്ധ്യസനം നൽകാനുള്ള ഒരു സൗകര്യം നാം നൽകേണ്ടതാണ്. വേറെ ഒരു ദോഷംകൂടി ഈ പ്രമേയം അംഗീകരിക്കുന്നപക്ഷം ഉണ്ടാകുന്നുണ്ട്. അവരവരുടെ മതത്തെപ്പറ്റി വിദ്യാർത്ഥികൾക്കു അദ്ധ്യസനം നൽകാൻ ഇടകൊടുത്തില്ലെങ്കിൽ ഓരോ മതവിഭാഗക്കാരും പ്രത്യേകം പ്രത്യേകം പള്ളിക്കൂടങ്ങൾ വേണമെന്നു് ആവശ്യപ്പെടാൻ ഇടയാകും. മാത്രമല്ല, ഒരു സ്ഥലത്തു് ഏതെങ്കിലും ഒരു സമുദായത്തിനു് മുൻകൂട്ടി പള്ളിക്കൂടങ്ങൾ അനുവദിച്ചുകൊടുത്തതുനിമിത്തം മറ്റാക്കും അവിടെ പള്ളിക്കൂടങ്ങൾ അനുവദിക്കാൻ പാടില്ല എന്നുള്ള ഓവർലാപ്പിംഗ് സിസ്റ്റം, ഇവരുടെ ഈ ആഗ്രഹനിവൃത്തിക്കു് ഒരു പ്രധാന തടസ്സമായിനിൽക്കയും ചെയ്യും. അതുകൊണ്ടു് ഇതു് ഗൺമെന്റ് സ്കൂളുകളെ മാത്രം ബാധിക്കുന്ന മന്നായിരിക്കാൻ പാടില്ല, ഇതിനെപ്പറ്റി ക്ഷുണ്ണമായി ആലോചിച്ചു പ്രവർത്തിക്കാൻ ഒരു കമ്മറ്റി ഏർപ്പെടുത്തി ഈ പ്രശ്നം അവരുടെ തീരുമാനത്തിനു വിട്ടുകൊടുക്കുന്നതാണ് നല്ലതെന്നു തോന്നുന്നു. ഒരുപക്ഷെ അതുകൊണ്ടായിരിക്കാം എഡ്യൂക്കേഷൻ റിഫാം കമ്മറ്റി റിപ്പോർട്ടിൽ ഈ ചുമതല ആ കമ്മറ്റിക്കു വിട്ടുകൊടുക്കാൻ തവർ ശുപാർശചെയ്തിരിക്കുന്നതു്.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

MR. CHAZHIKKATTU JOSEPH: സർ, ലോകത്തു ഒരു മതവും ആവശ്യമില്ലെന്നു പറയുവാനുള്ള ധീരതയുണ്ടായ ഒരു അംഗത്തെ ഈ നിയമസഭയിൽ കണ്ടതിൽ ഞാൻ അത്ഭുതപ്പെടുന്നു. മതം ആവശ്യമില്ലെന്നും, വേണ്ടാത്തതാണെന്നും, മതം രാജ്യത്തിനും സമുദായത്തിനും ദ്രോഹം ചെയ്തിക്കൂട്ടുന്നു എന്നും പറയുവാൻ തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ ന്യൂ ... ജനങ്ങളുടെ പ്രതിനിധികളായി ഇവിടെയുള്ളവരിൽ അ ... ഉണ്ടാകുകയില്ലെന്നാണു് ഞാൻ ധരിച്ചിരുന്നതു്.

MR. T. T. KESAVAN SASTRI: വേണ്ടാ എന്നു പറഞ്ഞതു ആരാണു്?

MR. CHAZHIKKATTU JOSEPH: മി. കെ. ആർ. നാരായണൻ മതം വേണ്ടാ എന്നു പറഞ്ഞു.

PRESIDENT: Order, order. Honourable member should realise that pointing ont one's finger is not parliamentary, because the theory is that all honourable members are addressing the Chair.

MR. CHAZHIKKATTU JOSEPH: ഏതെങ്കിലും ഒരു മെമ്പർ മതം വേണ്ടാ എന്നു പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ അദ്ദേഹത്തോടു ഞാൻ സഹതപിക്കുന്നു.

സർ, ഞാൻ മി. പി. ഒ. തോമസ്സിന്റെ പ്രമേയത്തെ അനുകൂലിക്കുന്നു. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ പ്രമേയം ആവശ്യപ്പെടുന്നതു മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം ചെയ്യുന്നതിനുള്ള എല്ലാ സൗകര്യങ്ങളും സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യങ്ങളും വിദ്യാഭ്യാസസ്ഥാപനങ്ങളിൽ ഉണ്ടാകണം എന്നാണു്. ചുരുക്കിപ്പറഞ്ഞാൽ ഗ്രാൻറു സ്കൂളുകളിൽ മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിനുള്ള എല്ലാ സൗകര്യങ്ങളും ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കണമെന്നാണു് പ്രമേയം. തിരുവിതാംകൂറിനു വെളിയിൽ ഇറങ്ങിയാൽ എവിടേയും ഓരോരോ സമുദായക്കാർക്കു പ്രത്യേകമായി സത്രങ്ങൾ ഏർപ്പെടുത്തിയിട്ടുള്ളതായി കാണാം. ഓരോ സത്രങ്ങളുടേയും മുമ്പിൽ 'ബ്രാഹ്മണർക്കു മാത്രം', 'നാണ 'ബ്രാഹ്മണർക്കു മാത്രം', 'ചെട്ടിയാർക്കു മാത്രം', എന്നു ഇങ്ങനെ എഴുതിയിട്ടുള്ള ബോർഡുകൾ വച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതു കാണാം. അവിടെ അതതു മതത്തിൽ പെട്ടവർക്കുമാത്രമേ പ്രവേശനമുള്ളൂ. അവിടെ ഭക്ഷണത്തിനും താമസസൗകര്യത്തിനും ഓരോ മതക്കാർക്കും സ്വതന്ത്ര്യമുണ്ടു്. അതായതു ഓരോ മതവിഭാഗക്കാരും അവരുടെ മതത്തിൽപ്പെട്ട ആളുകൾക്കു് ചെയ്തുകൊടുക്കുന്ന സുഖസൗകര്യങ്ങൾ മാത്രമാണു് അതു്.

MR. A. NESAMONY: തിരുവിതാംകൂർ അങ്ങിനെ ബോർഡുകൾ വയ്ക്കുന്ന ഏർപ്പാടുകൾ വല്ലതുമുണ്ടോ?

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

MR. CHAZHIKKATTU JOSEPH : ഞാൻ കണ്ടിട്ടില്ല.

MR. K. A. MATHEW : കന്യാകുമാരിയിൽ അങ്ങിനെ ഒരു ബോർഡ് വച്ചിട്ടില്ലേ ?

MR. CHAZHIKKATTU JOSEPH : കന്യാകുമാരിയിൽ അങ്ങിനെ ഏതൊ ഒരു ബോർഡ് വച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട് എന്നാണ് എന്റെ ഓർമ്മ.

സർ, ഓരോ സമുദായക്കാരും പണം വ്യയംചെയ്തു സ്കൂളുകളും കോളേജുകളും സ്ഥാപിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നത് അവരുടെ സമുദായത്തിന്റെ മതപരവും വിദ്യാഭ്യാസപരവുമായ ഉന്നതിയെ ക്രുടി കരുതിയാണ്. ക്രിസ്തീയസമുദായം അവരുടെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസാഭിവൃദ്ധിക്കുവേണ്ടി വളരെ പണം ചെലവുചെയ്തുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നു. ഹിന്തുമതത്തിൽപ്പെട്ടവർ ഹൈന്ദവ സ്കൂളുകൾ ഉണ്ടാക്കിവരുന്നു. മുസ്ലീം സമുദായത്തിൽപ്പെട്ടവരും അവരുടെവക സ്കൂളുകൾ സ്ഥാപിച്ചു വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നടത്തിവരുന്നു. മി. കെ. ആർ. നാരായണനേപ്പോലെ ദൈവം വേണ്ടന്നു പറയുന്നവരല്ല, ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികൾ; അവർ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്ന മതം സത്യമായ ഒരു മതമാണെന്നും, ആ മതത്തിൽ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നവർക്കു മാത്രമേ ആത്മീയരക്ഷ ലഭിക്കുകയുള്ളു എന്നും മറ്റുള്ള മതം സത്യമല്ലെന്നും ആണ് വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നത്. ഞാൻ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്ന ക്രിസ്തു, അദ്ദേഹം ജീവിച്ചിരുന്നപ്പോൾ സത്യത്തിനുവേണ്ടി അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ അവസാനത്തെ തുള്ളി രക്തം പോലും സത്യത്തിനുവേണ്ടി ബലികഴിച്ച ഒരു ദിവ്യനാണ്. മാത്രമല്ല അദ്ദേഹം മരിച്ചുകഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടും ശേഷിച്ചിരുന്ന രക്തവും സത്യത്തിനുവേണ്ടിത്തന്നെ ചൊരിഞ്ഞു. മി. പി. എസ്സ്. മുഹമ്മദ് പറഞ്ഞതുപോലെ ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികൾ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്ന മതം മാത്രമാണ് സത്യമായ മതമെന്നും, മറ്റുള്ളവർ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്ന മതം സത്യമായ മതമല്ലെന്നുമാണ് ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികൾ ധരിച്ചുവച്ചിരിക്കുന്നത്. ഈ വിശ്വാസത്തിൽ അവർ അടിയുറച്ചു നിൽക്കുകയുമാണ്. സർ, മറച്ചുവച്ചിട്ടാവശ്യമില്ല, അവർ സ്കൂളുകളും കോളേജുകളും സ്ഥാപിക്കുന്നതു അവർ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്ന സത്യമായ മതത്തേപ്പറ്റിയുള്ള ജ്ഞാനം അവരുടെ സന്താനങ്ങൾക്കു ക്രുടി കൊടുക്കണമെന്നുള്ള തീവ്രമായ ആഗ്രഹം ഒന്നുകൊണ്ടു ക്രുടിയാണ്. മറ്റുള്ള സമുദായങ്ങളിലുള്ള കുട്ടികൾക്ക് സാമാന്യ വിദ്യാഭ്യസം നൽകുന്നതിൽ അവർ യാതൊരു മടിയും പ്രദർശിപ്പിക്കുന്നില്ലെങ്കിലും ക്രൈസ്തവ വിദ്യാർത്ഥികൾക്ക് മതാഭ്യസനം നൽകുക എന്നുള്ള മുഖ്യമായ പരിപാടിയോടു ക്രുടി മാത്രമാണ്—അല്ലെങ്കിൽ ആ പരിപാടിയെമാത്രം ഉദ്ദേശിച്ചാണു—ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികൾ അവരുടെ വക പ്രത്യേക സ്കൂളുകൾ സ്ഥാപിച്ചിരിക്കു

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[Mr. Chazhikkattujoseph]

ന്നത്.. ഹിന്ദുക്കളുടേയും, ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികളുടേയും, മുസ്ലീമങ്ങളുടേയും, പണംകൊണ്ട് ഉണ്ടാക്കിയതാണ് സർക്കാർ പള്ളിക്കൂടങ്ങൾ. ആ പള്ളിക്കൂടങ്ങളിൽ ഹിന്ദുക്കൾക്കും, ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികൾക്കും, മുസ്ലീമങ്ങൾക്കും ഒരു പോലെ സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കണം. എന്നാൽ ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികൾ അവരുടെ സ്വന്തം പണം ചെലവാക്കി സ്കൂളുകൾ സ്ഥാപിക്കുമ്പോൾ അവർ ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നതുപോലെ... ... ...

PRESIDENT: That raises a very important question. Amongst the various recommendations of this committee this is one; that 75 per cent. of the teachers' salaries should be paid, at various stages, by the Government. Therefore, if aided institutions get this 75 per cent. that money is taken from the Hindus and the Christians and the Mussalmans. Therefore, if this recommendation is to be accepted and these aided institutions are to be helped out of public funds to the extent of 75 per cent, then they will be State institutions.

I want to make one matter clear. I do not think the honourable member need labour the point that every Christian strongly believes in his faith and is anxious, not only, to believe in that faith but to propagate that faith. He is at perfect liberty to do so with his own community and with his own sub-section of the community. But it does not arise here. The only question for discussion is, within school hours should an aided institution be permitted to give religious instruction to one particular community (not to others.) I do not think any other point need be discussed - and to that extent, I do not quite agree with Mr. Narayanan's point of view or the other point of view - whether you should believe in a religion or not, or whether any particular religion is correct or not. They are questions which this House should be the last body to discuss about, because naturally it is composed of members of all communities. The sole question that can be discussed without any reference to bitterness or rancour is the single proposition, which I mentioned previously, namely, whether within school hours aided institutions should be permitted to give religious instruction to one particular community. It is the only question which has to be decided one way or the other. If it is decided that it should not be within school hours, then the whole question falls to ground because outside school hours every community is entitled to take all precautions for the purpose of helping that particular community. If, on the other hand, it is decided that instructions should be given within school hours, further complications might arise, whether the aided institutions would relish or would be in favour of say, the Government giving a subsidy to persons of other religion to teach persons who do not belong to the religion of the management. That would also give rise to other questions. For example, a question has been put to me like this: "We believe fully in our faith. We

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cannot allow, in our institutions, any moral or ethical instruction which we disbelieve, and which we consider to be practically atheism." This is exactly what a very eminent person told me. "Therefore, if we should consent to giving moral or ethical instruction, as such to persons of all communities, it must be in the faith in which we believe or nothing else." Then the only question was, he said. "We want that right because we believe that persons of our faith should be taught religion; there is no education worth the name unless they are taught the religion that we believe in. That is the question. Therefore we claim the right to teach persons of our community the principles of our faith. People need not come to this institution if they do not want to be taught that." That is the line that he takes. This is the only question that we are to consider now.

MR. CHAZHIKATTU JOSEPH: സർ, അദ്ധ്യക്ഷസ്ഥാനത്തുനിന്നും, ൬൭ ശതമാനം തുക ഗ്രാൻറ്സ്സ്റ്റുകൾക്ക് കൊടുക്കണമെന്ന എഡ്യൂക്കേഷൻറീഫോംസ് കമ്മറി ശുപാർശ ചെയ്തിരിക്കുന്നതായി പറഞ്ഞു. ആ തുക ഹിന്ദുക്കളുടേയും, ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികളുടേയും, മുസ്ലീമുങ്ങളുടേയും, മറ്റുള്ള എല്ലാസമുദായക്കാരുടേയും പണമല്ലേ എന്നു ചോദിക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുന്നു. സർ, തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ എല്ലാജനങ്ങളേയും, എല്ലാവിദ്യാർത്ഥികളേയും വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം ചെയ്യിക്കേണ്ട ചുമതല ഗവണ്മെൻറിനു ഉണ്ടെന്നാണ് എൻറെ വിശ്വാസം. ആ നിലയ്ക്ക് ഇവിടെയുള്ള വിദ്യാർത്ഥികളുടെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം വകയ്ക്ക് ൧൦൦ ശതമാനം ചെലവും ഗവണ്മെൻറു ചെയ്യുവാൻ കടപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കെ, അതിൽ ൬൭ ശതമാനം മാത്രം ചെലവാക്കിയാൽ മതിയെന്നും ബാക്കിയുള്ള ൩൩ ശതമാനം ചെലവും ഞങ്ങൾ വഹിച്ചുകൊള്ളാമെന്നു ആരെങ്കിലും പറയുന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ അതൊരു മഹാമനസ്ക്കതയായി കരുതി ഗവണ്മെൻറു അവരോട് അനുഭാവം കാണിക്കുകയാണെന്നും, ഈ ൬൭ ശതമാനം ഗ്രാൻറു കൊടുക്കുന്നതിൽ ഗവണ്മെൻറു അവരോട് വളരെ ഔദാര്യം ഒന്നും കാണിക്കുകയല്ല ചെയ്യുന്നതെന്നും എനിക്കു തോന്നുന്നു.

PRESIDENT: Order, order. No Government has any obligation to give compulsory primary education. No government has yet accepted in the world, the obligation to compulsory secondary education or compulsory university education as part of the State's functions.

MR. K. A. MATHEW: Is not every citizen obliged to have primary education? Is it not the right of every individual in the State to have education?

PRESIDENT: The question arises this way. Can a State accept obligation? In other words, for instance, in England, it is open to take legal proceedings, or other proceedings if a boy is uneducated or is not sent to school at a particular age. But can that obligation be exercised in respect of the Government in respect of secondary or higher education? That is the question.

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MR. CHAZHIKATTU JOSEPH: ഒരു രാജ്യത്തെ ജനങ്ങൾക്ക് വിദ്യാഭ്യാ
സം നൽകേണ്ടതു ഗവണ്മെൻറിന്റെ ഒരു പ്രധാന കടമയാണെന്നാണ്
ഞാൻ വിശ്വസിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതു്. നിർബന്ധിത വിദ്യാഭ്യാസനത്തിനുവേണ്ട
ഇപ്പോൾ ഗവണ്മെൻറും ജനങ്ങളും തയ്യാറാകുന്നതും ആ ഉദ്ദേശത്തോട്
കൂടിയാണെന്ന് ഞാൻ വിചാരിക്കുന്നു. ഒരു രാജ്യത്തിലെ മൊത്തത്ത്
ലുള്ള വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തെ പ്രോത്സാഹിപ്പിക്കുന്ന ഒരു സമുദായക്കാക്ക്, അ
വരുടെ സ്കൂൾ നടത്തിപ്പിലേക്ക് ഉ൦ശതമാനം ഗ്രാൻറു കൊടുക്കുന്നു
വെങ്കിൽ അതിൽ തീരെ അനൗചിത്യമില്ലെന്നാണ് എന്റെ അഭി
പ്രായം. ഹിന്ദുമതാഭിവൃദ്ധിക്കുവേണ്ടി ഹിന്ദുമിഷ്യൻ പ്രവർത്തിക്കുന്നതു
പോലെ ക്രൈസ്തവമതാഭിവൃദ്ധിക്കുവേണ്ടി ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികളും പ്രവർത്തിക്കുന്നു
എന്നു കണക്കാക്കിയാൽ മതിയാവുന്നതാണ്. എന്നാൽ ഹിന്ദുക്കളേയോ
മുസ്ലീമുകളേയോ, അപേക്ഷിച്ചു ഈ രാജ്യത്തെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസകാര്യത്തിൽ
മുന്നിട്ടുനിന്നു പ്രവർത്തിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികളാണെന്നു എനിക്കു നി
ശ്ചയിച്ചും പറയുവാൻ കഴിയും. അങ്ങിനെയുള്ള ഔദാര്യബുദ്ധിയോടുകൂടി
വിദ്യാഭ്യാസകാര്യത്തിൽ പ്രവർത്തിക്കുന്ന ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികൾക്ക് അവർ നട
ത്തുന്ന പള്ളിക്കൂടങ്ങളിലും കോളേജുകളിലും മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം ചെയ്യുന
തിനുള്ള സൗകര്യംകൂടി കൊടുക്കണമെന്നു പറയുന്നതു വെറും ന്യായ
മാത്രമാണ്.

MR. K. SUKUMARAN: ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികൾ ചെയ്യുന്ന ഔദാര്യത്തിൻറെ
കൂടുതൽകൊണ്ടാണോ അവർക്ക് കൂടുതൽ കൂടുതൽ പള്ളിക്കൂടങ്ങൾ
വേണമെന്നു പറയുന്നതു്?

MR. CHAZHIKATTU JOSEPH: രാജ്യത്തെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസ നിലയെ കു
റയ്ക്കുന്നതു കൂടുതൽ ഉയർത്തുണമെന്നുള്ള വിചാരം കൊണ്ടും അതുപോലെ
മതപരമായ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം ക്രൈസ്തവ വിദ്യാർത്ഥികൾക്ക് കഴിയുന്നതു
കൂടുതൽ നടക്കുന്നതിനുള്ള ഉത്സാഹംകൊണ്ടും ആണു് കൂടുതൽ പള്ളി
ക്കൂടങ്ങൾ സ്ഥാപിച്ചതരണമെന്നു് ആവശ്യപ്പെടുന്നതു്.

MR. R. MADHAVAN NAIR: ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികളുടെ വക പള്ളിക്കൂടങ്ങളിൽ
ക്രിസ്തുമതം മാത്രമേ പഠിപ്പിക്കയുള്ളു എന്നു പറയുന്നതു മറ്റുള്ളവരോടുള്ള
ഔദാര്യം കൊണ്ടാണോ?

MR. CHAZHIKATTU JOSEPH: ഈ ചോദ്യത്തിനു ഉത്തരം പറയണ
മെന്നു ഞാൻ വിചാരിക്കുന്നില്ല.

ഞാൻ പറയുന്നതു ക്രൈസ്തവവിദ്യാർത്ഥികളെ ക്രിസ്തുമതം പഠി
പ്പിക്കുന്നതിനുള്ള അവകാശം ക്രൈസ്തവസ്കൂളുകൾക്കു് ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കണ

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മെന്നാണ്. അതിനുവേണ്ടി മാത്രമാണ് ക്രൈസ്തവവിദ്യാലയങ്ങൾ ഏർപ്പെടുത്തുവാൻ അവർ ഇത്രമാത്രം ഉത്സാഹംകാണിക്കുന്നതും പണം ചിലവാക്കുന്നതും. എന്തെന്നാൽ ക്രിസ്തുമതമല്ലാതെ മറ്റൊരുമതവും സത്യമല്ലെന്നു ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികൾ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നു. അതിൽ ഹിന്ദുക്കളോ മുസ്ലീങ്ങളോ മറ്റു സമുദായക്കാരോ പരിഭവിച്ചിട്ടുവശ്യമില്ല. അതുകൊണ്ട് ഞങ്ങൾ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്ന മതം എന്താണെന്നുള്ളതിനെപ്പറ്റി ഞങ്ങളുടെ വിദ്യാർത്ഥികളെ പഠിപ്പിച്ചേ മതിയാവൂ. അതു പഠിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനുള്ള അവകാശം ഞങ്ങൾ ഏർപ്പെടുത്തുന്ന സ്കൂളുകൾക്ക് ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കണമെന്നാണ് ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ അനുകൂലിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു ഞാൻ അഭ്യർത്ഥിക്കുന്നതു്.

MR. P. M. VARGHESE: ക്രൈസ്തവസ്കൂളുകളിൽ മതം പഠിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനു ഇപ്പോഴും സൗകര്യം കിട്ടുന്നുണ്ടല്ലോ? ആ സൗകര്യം മേലാലും ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നാൽപോരേ?

MR. CHAZHIKATTU JOSEPH: പോരാ. മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം ചെയ്യുന്നതിനുള്ള സൗകര്യം മാത്രം ഇപ്പോൾ പറയത്തക്കനിലയിൽ കിട്ടുന്നില്ല.

PRESIDENT: In other words, the honourable member quite consistently says that any denominational group conducting a school is entitled to give instructions to every body attending that school in that faith.

MR. CHAZHIKKATTU JOSEPH: No. മറ്റുള്ളവരെ പഠിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനു ഞങ്ങൾക്കു കേസില്ല.

PRESIDENT: Therefore, during school hours for the pupils of that particular denomination, classes should be held. What should happen to the other students.

MR. CHAZHIKATTU JOSEPH: മതാഭ്യസനം സ്കൂളുകളിൽവച്ചു തന്നെ നടത്തണമെന്നു പറയുന്നതിനുള്ള കാരണം എന്താണെന്നു ഞാൻ പറയാം. ഇന്നത്തെ കാലസ്ഥിതിക്ക് ഒരു വയസ്സുമുതൽ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നൽകണമെന്നാണ് കമ്മറ്റിക്കാരുടെ അഭിപ്രായം. അപ്പോൾ ഒരു വയസ്സുമുതൽ കുട്ടികളെ വിദ്യാലയങ്ങളിലേക്ക് അയക്കേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. അതിനുമുമ്പു് അവരെ യാതൊന്നും പഠിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ സാധ്യമല്ലല്ലോ. ഒരു വയസ്സിനു മുമ്പു മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നൽകേണ്ടതു് വീട്ടിൽവച്ചായിരിക്കണം. എന്തെന്നാൽ പള്ളിക്കൂടത്തിൽവച്ചു മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നൽകുന്നതിനു സൗകര്യം വേണ്ടതാണല്ലോ പറയുന്നതു്. വിദ്യാലയങ്ങളിൽനിന്നു പോന്നതിനുശേഷമോ, വിദ്യാലയങ്ങളിലേക്ക് പോകുന്നതിനുമുമ്പോ മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നൽകുന്നതിനു ഒരു സൗകര്യവും ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കുകയില്ല.

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MR. VARKALA K. MADHAVAN: ഞായറാഴ്ചമാത്രം മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നടത്തിയാൽ പോരേ?

MR. CHAZHIKATTU JOSEPH: ആഴ്ചയിൽ ഒരു ദിവസവും മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം കൊടുത്താൽ കൊള്ളാമെന്നും മറ്റുള്ള ദിവസം മാത്രം ലൌകിക വിദ്യാഭ്യാസംനടത്തിയാൽ മതിയെന്നുമുള്ള വിചാരമുള്ളവനാണ് ഞാൻ. ഗവൺമെന്റ് സ്കൂളുകളിലുള്ള അദ്ധ്യാപകന്മാർക്ക് ഏതായാലും ശമ്പളം കൊടുക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. ഏതു മതവിഭാഗത്തിൽപ്പെട്ടവരുടെ വക സ്കൂളുകളായിരുന്നാലും ആ മതത്തിൽപ്പെട്ട ചില അദ്ധ്യാപകന്മാർ ആ സ്കൂളുകളിൽ ഉണ്ടാകാതിരിക്കുകയില്ല. സ്കൂൾ സമയത്തുതന്നെ മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നടത്തുന്നതിനുള്ള സൗകര്യം കൊടുക്കുന്നപക്ഷം ആ അദ്ധ്യാപകന്മാരെക്കൊണ്ടുതന്നെ മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസവും നടത്തുന്നതിനുള്ള സൗകര്യം സ്കൂളുകളിൽ വച്ചു ലഭിക്കുന്നതാണ്. അതുകൊണ്ട് സ്കൂളുകളിൽ മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം ചെയ്യുന്നതിനുള്ള സൗകര്യം ഉണ്ടാക്കിക്കൊടുക്കേണ്ടതു് അത്യന്താപേക്ഷിതമായ ഒരു കാര്യമാകുന്നു.

MR. P. O. THOMAS Is the member aware that facilities for moral instructions were restricted by Government circulars of late?

MR. CHAZHIKATTU JOSEPH: ഏതാനും ചില നിവാരണങ്ങളും ഈ കാര്യത്തിൽ വരുത്തിയിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നാണ് എന്റെ അറിവു്.

ഇനിയും മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നടത്തേണ്ടതു് സ്കൂൾസമയത്തുതന്നെ വേണോ എന്നു അദ്ധ്യക്ഷസ്ഥാനത്തുനിന്നും ചോദിച്ച ചോദ്യത്തിനു മറുപടി പറയാം. നാലോ കുട്ടികളുള്ള ഒരു സ്കൂളിൽ നൂറോ നൂറിലധികമോ കുട്ടികൾ വെവ്വേറെ ഒരിടത്തിരിക്കേണ്ടിവരികയില്ലേ എന്നാണ് ചോദിക്കുന്നതു്. ഒരു ക്ലാസ്സിൽ ഏതാനും വിദ്യാർത്ഥികളെവച്ചു മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നടത്തിക്കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുമ്പോൾ അതിൽ പങ്കുകൊള്ളേണ്ട ആവശ്യമില്ലാത്തവർ എന്തുചെയ്യും എന്നാണ് അദ്ധ്യക്ഷസ്ഥാനത്തുനിന്നും ചോദിച്ചതു്. സർ അതൊരു നിസ്സാരപ്രശ്നമാണ്.

PRESIDENT: The simple question is answered in this way. I do not want to hurt anydody's feelings. But children of five or six, when they see other children playing in the compound of the school and they are having religious instructions, does the honourable member think, will concentrate their attention on the classes or will they be looking at their classmates?

MR. CHAZHIKATTU JOSEPH: മതം പഠിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനായി ഒരു പ്രത്യേകം മുറി ഏർപ്പാടു ചെയ്തിട്ട് മറ്റുള്ളവർ അതു കാണാതെ എവിടെയെങ്കിലും കളിക്കുന്നതിനു വ്യവസ്ഥചെയ്താൽ ഒരു കുഴപ്പവും ഉണ്ടാകുകയില്ല.

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MR. K. K. CHELLAPPAN PILLAI : ഇതു മെമ്പറുടെ സ്വന്താഭിപ്രായമാണോ, സമുദായത്തിന്റെ അഭിപ്രായമാണോ?

MR. CHAZHIKATTU JOSEPH: ഇതു് സമുദായത്തിന്റെ അഭിപ്രായവും കൂടിയാണ്.

MR. PULIYOOR T. P. VELAYUDHAN PILLAI : ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മെമ്പർ മിസ്റ്റർ മൈക്കലിന്റെ അഭിപ്രായം എന്താണെന്നു മെമ്പർ കേട്ടോ?

MR. CHAZHIKATTU JOSEPH : അതുതന്നെയാണു് എന്റെയും അഭിപ്രായം.

MR. PULIYOOR T. P. VELAYUDHAN PILLAI : അദ്ധ്യയനസമയത്തു മതാദ്ധ്യസനം നടത്തേണ്ടതല്ല എന്നാണു് അദ്ദേഹം പറഞ്ഞതു് എന്നു മെമ്പർക്കറിയാമോ?

MR. CHAZHIKATTU JOSEPH : അദ്ധ്യയനസമയത്തുതന്നെ മതം പഠിപ്പിക്കണമെന്നു ഞാനും പറയുന്നില്ല. ഞാൻ മുമ്പു പറഞ്ഞതുപോലെ അദ്ധ്യയനം തുടങ്ങുന്നതിനു മുമ്പോ, തീർന്നതിനുശേഷമോ മതാദ്ധ്യസനം നടത്തുന്നപക്ഷം അതു വിദ്യാർത്ഥികൾക്കു് വളരെ ക്ലേശകരമായിട്ടു തോന്നും. ഇതിന്റെ രണ്ടിന്റെയും മദ്ധ്യത്തിലുള്ള സമയമാണു് ഇതിലേക്കു് എടുക്കേണ്ടതു്. ഇതിലേക്കു് ഒരു മണിക്കൂർ മാത്രമേ കൊടുക്കാൻ പാടുള്ളൂ എന്നും അതിൽ കൂടുതൽ സമയം കൊടുക്കാൻ പാടില്ല എന്നും പ്രത്യേകം വ്യവസ്ഥചെയ്യുന്നതിലും തരക്കേടില്ല. ഉച്ചയ്ക്കുള്ള ഇന്റർവെൽ സമയത്തു് ഒന്നരമണിക്കൂർ സമയം കൊടുത്താൽ ഈ കാര്യം നടത്താൻ കഴിയും. ഒന്നരമണിക്കൂറിൽ അരമണിക്കൂർ മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം, പങ്കുകൊള്ളേണ്ടവർക്കായി മാറ്റി വച്ചാൽമതി.

MR. K. R. NARAYANAN : ഇപ്പോഴുള്ള പ്രൈവറ്റു സ്കൂളുകളെല്ലാം ഗവണ്മെന്റു ഏറ്റെടുക്കേണ്ടതാണെന്നുള്ള ഒരു നിശ്ചയം പാസാക്കിയാൽ പിന്നെ മതാദ്ധ്യസനം എങ്ങിനെ നടക്കും?

MR CHAZHIKATTU JOSEPH : അങ്ങിനെ വരുമെന്നു വിചാരിക്കുന്നില്ലെങ്കിൽ ഈ ചോദ്യത്തിനു മറുപടി പറയേണ്ട ആവശ്യമില്ലല്ലോ. കുറെ കുട്ടികളെ മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം ചെയ്യിച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുകയും അതേ സമയംതന്നെ മറ്റു കുറെ കുട്ടികളെ വേറെ വിഷയങ്ങൾ പഠിപ്പിച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുക എന്നുള്ളരീതി ആശാസ്യമാണെന്നു ഞാനും പറയുന്നില്ല. അദ്ധ്യയനം തുടങ്ങുന്നതിനുമുമ്പു അരമണിക്കൂറോ മുക്കാൽ മണിക്കൂറോ ഇതിലേക്കു മാറിവയ്ക്കുന്നതു വളരെ വിഷമമാണ് കുട്ടികളാരുംതന്നെ മതം പഠിക്കാൻ വരുകയില്ലെന്നുള്ളതായിരിക്കു

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[Mr. Chazhikattu Joseph]

അതിന്റെ ഫലം. അതുപോലെ തന്നെ സ്കൂൾ വിട്ടതിന്റെശേഷം മതാദ്ധ്യാപനം നൽകിയാലും വിശേഷമൊന്നുമില്ല. അപ്പോഴേക്കും കുട്ടികൾ വീട്ടിൽ പോകുന്നതിനുള്ള തിടുക്കംകൊണ്ട് മതം പഠിക്കുവാൻ ആഗ്രഹപ്പെടുകയില്ല. കൊച്ചുകുട്ടികളായതുകൊണ്ട് തങ്ങളുടെ മതത്തെപ്പറ്റി പറിക്കുവാനുള്ള ജിജ്ഞാസ അവർക്ക് സ്വയമേവ ഉണ്ടാവുകയില്ലല്ലോ. അതുകൊണ്ട് അവരെ പിടിച്ചിരുത്തിവേണം മതം പഠിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ. അതിലേക്ക് എനിക്ക് നൽകുവാനുള്ള ഒരു നിർദ്ദേശം ഇതാണ്. ഉച്ചക്കുള്ള ഇന്റർവെൽ സമയം അര മണിക്കൂർകൂടി നീട്ടി കൊടുക്കുക—അതിൽ അരമണിക്കൂർ സമയം മതാദ്ധ്യാപനത്തിനായി ഉപയോഗിക്കട്ടെ. അല്ലാതെ അദ്ധ്യയനം തുടങ്ങുന്നതിനുമുൻപോ, തീർന്നതിനുശേഷമോ ഇതിലേക്ക് സമയം അനുവദിക്കുന്നതുകൊണ്ട് ഉദ്ദേശിക്കുന്ന പ്രയോജനം ഉണ്ടാവുകയില്ല.

MR. PULIYOOR T. P. VELAYUDHAN PILLAI : ഇപ്പോൾ ദൂരസ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ നിന്നും വരുന്ന കുട്ടികൾക്ക് തിരിച്ചു വീട്ടിൽ പോകുന്നതിന് ക്ലേശമല്ലേ?

MR. CHAZHIKATTU JOSEPH : അല്പം ക്ലേശം സഹിച്ചാലും മതത്തിനുവേണ്ടി അവർ ഇരുന്നുകൊള്ളും. മറ്റു സമുദായക്കാരെ പഠിപ്പിക്കണമെന്നു ഞാൻ പറയുന്നില്ല. അതുകൊണ്ട് ഉച്ചയ്ക്ക് മതാദ്ധ്യാപനം നൽകുന്നതിനുള്ള സൗകര്യം കൊടുക്കണം. ഇതുയും പ്രസ്താവിച്ചുകൊണ്ട് മിസ്റ്റർ പി. ഒ. തോമസിന്റെ ഉപക്ഷേപത്തെ ഞാൻ പിൻതാങ്ങിക്കൊള്ളുന്നു.

MR. P. R. ATCHUTAN (*Nominated*) : സർ, ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മെമ്പർ മി. പി. ഒ. തോമസ് അവതരിപ്പിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതായ പ്രമേയത്തെ എനിക്കുള്ള സർവ്വശക്തികളും പ്രയോഗിച്ചു ഞാൻ എതിർക്കുന്നു. ഈ രാജ്യത്തുള്ള ഗ്രാന്റുപള്ളിക്കൂടങ്ങളിൽ മതപരമായ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം ആവശ്യമാണോ ഇല്ലയോ എന്നുള്ളതാണ് ഇവിടത്തെ പ്രശ്നം. സർ, അങ്ങിനെയുള്ള ഒരു പ്രശ്നം ഈ സഭയുടെ ഗാഢമായ പര്യാലോചനയ്ക്കുകൊണ്ടുവരാവുന്നതല്ല. മതപരമായ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം പാഠശാലയങ്ങളിൽ അനുവദിക്കുവാൻ പാടില്ല എന്നാണ് എന്റെ വിനീതമായ അഭിപ്രായം. ഒരു ഗ്രാന്റു പള്ളിക്കൂടത്തിൽ ഒരു ഹിന്ദുവും ഒരു അഹിന്ദുവും പഠിക്കുന്നു എന്നിരിക്കട്ടെ. ഇങ്ങിനെ പല മതസ്ഥരായ വിദ്യാർത്ഥികളുടെ മുമ്പിൽവച്ച് മി. കെ. ആർ. നാരായണൻ പ്രസ്താവിച്ചതുപോലെ ശ്രീകൃഷ്ണനെപ്പറ്റിയും ശ്രീകുസ്തുവിനെപ്പറ്റിയും മഹമ്മദ് നബിയെപ്പറ്റിയും പഠിപ്പിച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുമ്പോൾ ഇതിൽ ആരാണ് ശ്രേഷ്ഠൻ

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ഏതാണ നല്ലത് എന്നുള്ള സംശയം വരുന്നു. ഓരോ വിദ്യാർത്ഥിക്കും അയാളുടെ വാസനയും അയാൾ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്ന മതത്തിന്റെ സാമാന്യപരിജ്ഞാനവും ലഭിക്കുന്നതിനു വേണ്ടുന്നിടത്തോളം മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നൽകുന്നതിനു യാതൊരു കുഴിവുമില്ലാതിരിക്കുന്ന സ്ഥിതിക്കു അവരെ അവരുടെ വഴിക്കു വിടുന്നതാണ നല്ലത്. സർ, "എന്റെ മതം ഉൽകൃഷ്ടം നിന്റെ മതം ചീത്തയെന്നു വാദിച്ചു തന്റേതിനെ വലുതാക്കുന്നതിനേക്കാൾ തന്റേടത്തിങ്കൽ" ഈ രാജ്യം വിട്ടുകൊടുക്കുവാൻ പാടുള്ളതല്ലാ. തന്റെ മതമാണ സത്യം, എന്നു ഒരു ക്രിസ്ത്യൻ പറയുമ്പോൾ, തന്റെ മതമാണ സത്യം എന്നു ഒരു മഹമ്മദീയൻ പറയുന്നു. തങ്ങളുടെ മതമാണനല്ലതെന്നു ഹിന്ദുക്കളും പറയുന്നു. ഇപ്രകാരം വിഷമമേറിയ പരിതസ്ഥിതിയിൽ എല്ലാ മതങ്ങളേയും പള്ളിക്കൂടത്തിൽവച്ചു അദ്ധ്യാപകന്മാക്കു പഠിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ എങ്ങിനെ സാധിക്കുമെന്നു ഞാൻ ചോദിക്കുന്നു. അതുകൊണ്ടു നിശ്ചയമായിട്ടും, മതങ്ങൾ പള്ളിക്കൂടങ്ങളിൽ പഠിപ്പിക്കുന്നു എങ്കിൽ എല്ലാ മതങ്ങളേയും പഠിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനുള്ള സൗകര്യം കൊടുക്കണം. ഹിന്ദുമതത്തെപ്പറ്റി പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ അതു പൊതുവായി പഠിപ്പിച്ചാൽ പോരാ. മി. കെ. ആർ. നാരായണൻ പറഞ്ഞ കപിലമതവും, ജൈനമതവും, ബുദ്ധമതവും, ദിഗംബരമതവും, ചാർവാകമതവും എല്ലാം പഠിപ്പിക്കേണ്ടതാണ്. ഇങ്ങിനെയുള്ള വിവിധമതങ്ങളെപ്പറ്റി പാഠാലയങ്ങളിൽവച്ചു പഠിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ ഇന്നത്തെ നിലയ്ക്കു ഒരു സൗകര്യമില്ലാതെയാണിരിക്കുന്നതു. അതുപോലെ തന്നെ ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിടത്തോളം പുതിയ നിയമം, പഴയനിയമം എന്നെല്ലാം ഉണ്ട്. ഇന്നയിന്ന പാഠങ്ങളെല്ലാം ഇന്നയിന്ന സമയത്തിനുള്ളിൽ പഠിപ്പിച്ചുതീർക്കണമെന്നു ഗവണ്മെന്റു നിർബന്ധിക്കുമ്പോൾ, അതിനുതന്നെ വേണ്ടിടത്തോളം സമയം കിട്ടാതെ അദ്ധ്യാപകന്മാർ വിഷമിക്കുമ്പോൾ, ഈ മതങ്ങളെപ്പറ്റി എല്ലാം പഠിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ എങ്ങിനെയാണു അവക്കു സൗകര്യമുണ്ടാവുക? അതുകൊണ്ടു ഇങ്ങനെയുള്ള ശല്യങ്ങൾക്കു പാഠാലയങ്ങളിൽ ഒരു മിനിട്ടു നേരംപോലും സമയം അനുവദിച്ചുകൂടാ. സർ, മതസംബന്ധമായുണ്ടാകുന്ന വിഷമത്തിനു ഒരു ചെറിയ ദൃഷ്ടാന്തം പറയാം. ഒരു ഹിന്ദുവും, ഒരു ക്രിസ്ത്യാനിയുമായി ഒരിക്കൽ ഒരു സ്ഥലത്തേയ്ക്കു ഒരുമിച്ചു പോവുകയുണ്ടായി. സന്ദർഭം കിട്ടുന്നു. അവസരങ്ങളിലെല്ലാം അവർ, അവരവരുടെ മതത്തെപ്പറ്റി സംസാരിച്ചുകൊണ്ടാണു പോയതു. തന്റെ മതമാണു നല്ലതെന്നു ഓരോരുത്തരും വാദിക്കുകയും ഒടുവിൽ അതു വഴക്കിലവസാനിക്കുകയും ചെയ്തു. ഇവരുടെ വഴക്കു മൂത്തു തമ്മിൽ അടിപിടിയായി.

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[Mr. P. R. Atchutan.]

അതുകൊണ്ടു അവരുടെ യാത്രോദ്ദേശം തെറ്റി ഒടുവിൽ കോടതി കയറേണ്ടതായിവന്നു. ഈ മാതിരി തർക്കങ്ങൾ വിവിധമതങ്ങൾ തമ്മിൽ ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കുന്ന കാലത്തോളം മഹാരാജാവുതിരുമനസ്സിലെ, പരമാധികാരത്തിൻ കീഴിലുള്ള തിരുവിതാംകൂർ സംസ്ഥാനത്തിൽ എത്ര പള്ളിക്കൂടങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടോ, ആ പള്ളിക്കൂടങ്ങളിലെല്ലാം എല്ലാ വിദ്യാർത്ഥികൾക്കും ഒരുപോലെയുള്ള മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം ലഭിക്കുവാനുള്ള സൗകര്യമാണ് ഗവണ്മെൻറു ചെയ്തു കൊടുക്കേണ്ടതു്. അതു സാദ്ധ്യമല്ലെങ്കിൽ മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസംതന്നെ പള്ളിക്കൂടത്തിൽ വേണ്ടെന്നു വയ്ക്കുകയാണു നല്ലതു്.

MR. A. P. UDAYABHANU: Sir, we are dealing with a highly inflammable substance, *i. e.* religion, which seems to have set on fire the whole House. I think our discussion has gone wide off the resolution. The resolution under discussion is

"This House recommends to Government to provide ample facilities for giving religious instruction in the aided Schools and Colleges of the State."

This resolution does not say that in aided schools religious instruction should be given during School hours, nor does it insist that Government must give instruction on that.

PRESIDENT: Obviously yes, for, the resolution requests Government to provide certain facilities. It means that question such as accommodation, financial help etc. are involved. I do not understand what other facilities other than these are to be given by Government.

MR. A. P. UDAYABHANU: Though the resolution speaks of facilities to be given, there is another matter.

PRESIDENT: What is now under discussion is the present practice. It is that no religious instruction should be given in school hours. Both Mr. Thomas and Mr. Chazhikattu Joseph were of that view. Is that not quite right?

MR. CHAZHIKATTU JOSEPH: Yes, Sir. And Government need not pay anything for that.

PRESIDENT: One religion might be rich as not to require payment. Another religion might not be. But the question that arises on the resolution is this. This House recommends to Government to provide, mark the words ('to provide') ample facilities for giving religious instruction in the aided Schools and Colleges in the State. Obviously, facilities can only mean the granting of rooms, finance etc, and not benches and chairs which cannot be termed as facilities, because they are available in the School itself.

MR. A. P. UDAYABHANU: Sir, what I understood from Mr. Thomas's speech was that there is some sort of restriction in giving religious instruction outside school hours.

MR. P. O. THOMAS: Sir, may I explain just to facilitate discussion.

PRESIDENT: Please do.

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MR. P. O. THOMAS: My point was to bring to the notice of this House the restrictions that are being enforced by Government of late. Formerly as was stated by Mr. Nesamoney there was no restriction as to the time for giving religious instruction. Of late, by means of a circular the denominational institutions were prevented from giving instruction, during a particular period.

PRESIDENT: During school hours—

MR. P. O THOMAS: Yes, Sir. My point is it was so to say an infringement on the legitimate rights of those institutions, so my suggestion is that a committee may be appointed to report on this matter. The manner of decision may be left to that committee. This particular aspect has to be viewed by the committee sympathetically. That is my point.

MR. A. P. UDAYABHANU: Sir, I am sorry, I have misunderstood the point of Mr. Thomas. Sir, as early as 1932 the Statham Committee recommended the giving of religious instruction outside school hours In the face of that, how can I support the proposition that denominational religious instruction should be giving during school hours. That is an objectionable feature for the advantage is confined to one particular denomination.

MR. CHAZHIKATTU JOSEPH: What does the honourable member mean by school hours? From what hour to what hour is that?

MR. A. P. UDAYABHANU: That is prescribed in the Education Code.

MR. CHAZHIKATTU JOSEPH: Does the interval include school hours?

MR. A. P. UDAYABHANU: It is for the Educational authority to answer.

Sir, my friend Mr. Michael made it clear, as to what indulgence the management of aided schools ask of Government. They are to be given facilities for religious education outside school hours. That perhaps cannot be objected to. Then, about the question of giving religious instruction, I cannot indulge in a wholesale assault on religions. On all hands it is agreed that there must be a moral basis for education. During the formative period, the minds of all students must be instilled with moral instincts.

Sir, after all education is training one's own instincts so as to fit into the society in which one lives. There must be a moral code After all morality may be only a superstition. Whether it be a modern state or an old Government one cannot get on with out some of these superstiations. It may be the divinity of the King, the infallibility of a dictator or the thesis of a particular individual or it may be the inviolability of the republic. Whatever that be there must be a certain amount of superstition whether we call it the infallibility of religion or any other thing. I think the preponderance of opinion is that morality should be built on the bed rock of religion. But since there are various religions and denominations we have to compromise all. We cannot pursue an ostrich like policy regarding religious. We are not in a

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[Mr. A. P. Udayabhanu.]

position to wipe out all these religions. So what the educational authorities should do is to constitute a committee which must be in a position to incorporate into our carricula all the salient features of the important religions so that we might develop a highly tolerant attitude towards all religions. I do not mean that we should believe in all religions. But we should not say that another man is immoral because he does not belong to a particular religious denomination.

PRESIDENT: There is no point in discusing that at all. You say that all religions are equal and right and that therefore there is only one religion. An attempt of bringing together all religions was made, but was not a permanent success.

MR. A. P. UDAYABHANU: But all religions agree on certain fundamentals. They all command that "Thou shall not steal. Thou shall not kill, that instinct must be instilled in the students. If anybody wants special instructions in their own particular religions that may be allowed outside school hours.

MR. PULIYOOR T. P. VELAYUDHAN PILLAI: I now move that the question be put.

PRESIDENT: The question before the House is the motion by Mr. P. O. Thomas "This House recommends to Government to provide ample facilities for giving religious instruction in the aided schools and colleges in the State".

In order that the effect may be clear and Government exactly know where they are, let me summarise the discussion in a few words. There is no question at all here about the propriety or impropriety of religious or moral instruction. I do not think even Mr. K. R. Narayanan who has advanced views on the matter will deny that it is not open to a community to believe in the efficacy of moral instruction. The question also does not arise whether aided or completely independent schools are not entitled to see that members of the denominations to which the managements belong should not get instruction in their own beliefs. Government's policy has always been that any amount of religious or moral instruction can be given to the students by any one after school hours or before school hours but not within the school hours. That has been the recent circular. I think the origin of this motion is that circular. The only question to be decided by this House is whether religious or moral instruction can be given or should be given within school hours. All other points are really beside the mark.

MR. CHAZHIKATTU JOSEPH: മിസ്റ്റർ പ്രസിഡന്റ് മതപഠനം സ്കൂൾ ടൈമിനു ശേഷം മതിയെന്നു പറഞ്ഞതു.

PRESIDENT: The simple question is whether all the students should attend a particular class at any time from morning till evening. There are school hours; 10 to 5 or 11 to 4. Within that period, should all students or some students attend some special classes?

MR. P. O. THOMAS: I never intended that that matter should be included in the curriculum.

PRESIDENT: There is no question of curriculum.

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MR. P. O. THOMAS: I may also state that the particular circular, if that is also left to the committee to be appointed.....

PRESIDENT: You have not moved for a committee. I am putting the resolution as it is to vote.

MR. P. O. THOMAS: I may also add that once the principle is accepted .....

PRESIDENT: I do not accept it. The principle that has been in question is not whether religious instruction should be given or not. It is whether during the ordinary school hours this instruction should be given. The circular which is complained of is not now before the House.

MR. P. O. THOMAS: In view of the sympathetic attitude of the Government, I do not mean to press the resolution.

MR. M. L. JANARDHANA PILLAI: Sir, I object to the withdrawal of the resolution.

The motion that the member has leave of the House to withdraw the resolution was put and carried.

The resolution, by leave, was withdrawn.

MR. D. THOMAS: Sir, I move that freedom.....

PRESIDENT: That is the same as before.

MR. K. A. MATHEW: Mr. President, I am afraid that in the heated discussion on the previous resolution many irrelevant questions were brought in, chief of which was whether man needs religion or not. In moving this my resolution I do not wish to enter into a controversy over that question because I have no manner of doubt about the efficacy and need of religion for man. Sir, no form of social or political community will ever prosper unless the importance of fostering in the rising generation such attributes as physical fitness, intelligence and integrity of character receives the fullest recognition. Our education lays emphasis largely on the development of intelligence. I believe that at all stages of education, the training of the intellect must go hand in hand with the training of character. In the report presented to us by the committee I feel that the question of religious education has not received the attention it deserves. I fear they have simply shelved the question.

PRESIDENT: What really happened was this. The moment when the question of religious instruction came up for discussion, the discussion was so heated — is it not so, Mr. Papworth?

MR. H. C. PAPWORTH: The committee consisted of school managers, representatives of this House, businessmen, and industrialists. We thought we were not really fit to go adequately into this question in detail. Therefore we thought that a special committee may be appointed to go into the whole question.

PRESIDENT: The committee found that they were not fit to go into the question. So they suggested that a special committee may be appointed.

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MR. K. A. MATHEW: I sympathise with the committee. I am not surprised at the question being put off by them although its importance is acknowledged. I realise it is a difficult problem. But I feel that considering the importance of this question they should have already appointed a committee to go into this matter as was done by the Sargent Committee. Our Education Reorganisation Committee has suggested that a committee to go into this question may be appointed. My resolution presses for the appointment of a proper and representative committee for the purpose. I strongly feel that, a whole chapter should have been devoted to the discussion of this very important problem in this report because religious teaching must be the basis of all education. This committee should suggest the ways and methods by which religious teaching be incorporated in the educational system of our country. As things now stand, the State educational authorities pay scarcely any attention to this matter of religious teaching for our children. It is not treated seriously. It has no secure place in our educational system. As was disclosed in this morning's discussion in this House this subject is not seriously taken notice of in our institutions. Very often, it is treated rather as an unimportant extra than as an element of crucial importance. I am convinced that this is a matter of crucial importance so far as the education of youth is concerned. The new Education Act of 1944 in Britain has recognised this and has provided for it. The other day I was reading the proceedings of the House of Commons when the report of the Butler Commission on Education was discussed in that House. I came across the following words that fell from an eminent educationalist:

> "Character depends on religious conviction, and education which ignores the religious aspects of life is a partial, (one-sided and (even more) a dangerous thing. It is not really education at all, although it bears the name. It is a process of informing instructing, equipping the mind, without taking account of the danger of leaving all this provision of knowledge and scientific apparatus unbalanced by the moral qualities which are needed to control the use of it".

Honourable members Messrs. K. R. Narayanan and M. L. Janardhana Pillai were questioning the propriety of giving religious instruction or for that matter, the place of religion in a man's life. I am sorry I do not agree with them. Probably it may be due to difference in outlook. I believe that no boy or girl in our educational institutions can be counted as properly educated, unless he or she has been made aware of the fact of the existence of a religious interpretation of life. Religion in the widest sense should inspire all education and a curriculum devoid of an ethical basis will prove barren in the end. I claim to have some contact with the student community and I am aware that there is a growing secularism among them and this affects their outlook on life and its problems. I hope you will agree with me that this is not a very happy development for our student community. It augurs ill for the future. I am not referring to any communal section of the student population. It affects them as a whole. That is not the case with Travancore alone. Same tendency is evident in other parts of India as well. I speak from my experience with students in Travancore and elsewhere.

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MR. M. L. JANARDHANA PILLAI: Is it not this a peculiar condition during the last seven years?

MR. K. A. MATHEW: It is not a peculiar condition confined to the last seven years alone. Probably it may be due to the over emphasis on science.

Mr. K. R. Narayanan was saying that Rabindranatha Tagore was not a religious-minded person. I beg to differ from him. The great poet's writings reveal the contrary. He quoted certain scientists as holding anti-religious views to justify his position. I may refer my honourable friend to eminent scientists like Eddington, Jeans, Boyle and others who are spiritual minded men. The world is painfully realising the bankruptcy of a life devoid of moral and religious foundation. The spiritual meaning of life is acknowledged by many a scientist today. Educationalists in several countries are realising the need of a religious basis for the education of the youth.

MR. VARKALA K. MADHAVAN: May I know the age from which religious instruction was given in schools?

MR. K. A. MATHEW: From very early age religious instruction may be given to boys and girls.

MR. PULIYOOR T. P. VELAYUDHAN PILLAI: But we are now considering the question of imparting religious instruction in school hours.

MR. K. A. MATHEW: As this is a momentous matter requiring expert knowledge I am afraid a House like this consisting as it does of lay men not possessing the requisite qualification is not in a position to give its considered judgment, fully conscious of its responsibility towards the rising generation of our country. Education is for the purpose of developing the character of our young men and women. If we believe in this we will have to pay the utmost consideration to this subject. The object of education is not merely utilitarian. If we believe that character-building is the ultimate aim of education, certainly religion has to play a very definite place in the process. I am conscious, Sir, that this all important question is bristling with difficulties. Situated as we are in India, a land consisting of different communities and religions, the obstacle and problems seem to be unsurmountable. But I do not think we are right in shelving this question, if we realise the claim of religion on the life of man. Though some honourable members here expressed anti-religious feeling, I do not think that in Travancore there is any community which will decry the need of religious education. There are some communities which will not countenance secular education without religious teaching. No plan for the re-organisation of education for the future can wisely afford to neglect these facts or refuse to face these issues candidly and clearly.

PRESIDENT: As the honourable member has evidently bestowed considerable attention on this question, and as his work brings him into contact with the younger generation, in the course of his debate,

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[President.]

will he deal with the matter which is pressing us? One matter was referred to by Mr. Joseph with a sense of honesty beyond all doubt. You are now talking of the general question of training. This is a matter which has come to most of us who has had to deal with educational reform. If you can give a uniform religious instruction based on one faith, there is no difficulty; it does not generally arise in Europe, where notwithstanding certain differences they believe in general doctrines, as Mr. Joseph has remarked, that a particular revelation was made to a great master and there is and can be no other revelation. Similarly, the Islamic community believes that there has been one real Prophet and there have been predecessors, but he is the only true and complete Prophet and therefore they consider that other religions are wrong. The question is whether it is possible to combine these religions together and give instructions. That at once raises in any school or college a difficult question. You say that there are common truths in Christianity or Islam or Buddhism. It will be regarded as a kind of mistake or insult caused to such who consider that there is no other Prophet or another revelation, that there can be no co-existent revelation. It might be right or wrong, I am not discussing the truth of that contention. But what does the honourable member mean by the question moral and religious instructions to the men? If it is a compendium of the truth of the various religions, that problem is quite easy. But if it is a particular faith or the faiths, then separate instruction should be given and each community should have its own different religious instructions. That is the problem which the educationalists will have to consider.

MR. K. A. MATHEW: Personally speaking, I am not for giving a compendium of moral truths from various religions. It will not take the place of dynamic religion. I want every one to study the fundamental truths of his own religion. Muslims, Christians and Hindus must be given the chance to study deeply the fundamentals of their respective religions while affording unfettered freedom to probe into the truths of other religions as well. In our country, encouragement for comparative study of religions should be given. Study of religion should become an integral part of education. We should not fight shy of it. I believe that every boy and girl must be provided with convenience to study the fundamentals of his or her own religion. My fear is that a compendium of moral truths collected from all religions will be a mere colourless mixture; and I am sure it will not give the student any abiding inspiration to live a higher and nobler life. Our temples of learning should become temples for producing men of spiritual outlook inspiring them for service of fellow men. India with her diversity of religions is, I imagine given the peculiar privilege of experimenting in the study of different religions in a new perspective. For that sympathy, understanding and conviction of truth are essential. Religion in its highest and noblest content and expression must be taught to our boys and girls. There is a tendency

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in this House and elsewhere to say that religion is the bane of our country. Why should we find fault with religion? Religion is not at fault, but unseemly and wrong things done in the name of religion are blame-worthy. They are pseudo-religion. Every young man and woman should grow God-conscious and should be helped to see that God has a purpose for his or her life.

Sir, in our planning for Educational development our objective should be to produce young men and women with sterling character. As we plan we will do well to bear in mind the Chinese proverb "If you are planning for one year, plant grain: if you are planning for ten years plant trees if you are planning for a hundred years plant men". The purpose of our education is to plant men—men who are to guide the destines of own nation in the years that lie ahead. For planting men we shall not lose sight of religious and ethical values. Sir, on the Committee I have envisaged in this resolution, men of character, people who take religion seriously and who are concerned about the welfare of the students and who have made religion their study and who are able to contribute something real towards the solution of this problem should be appointed. A Committee consisting of men recruited solely for communal representation will not do to meet this particular need. I commend this resolution for the hearty acceptance by this House.

MR. D. THOMAS: Sir, I second the resolution. The report says nothing in detail about this important and vital matter which should find a place in a man's education. It recommends a sub-committee to deal with this question. I am for that committee to consider this question in detail. In order that the aim of education be fully realised, a study of religion is indispensable. Only a study of religion will make a man grow from the animal nature to the human. To eradicate the brutal nature of man, to suppress his lower impulses and to refine his mind, a knowledge of religion is necessary. Education should necessarily improve his character, or else the Fagin's academy itself will be an educational agency. So, it is quite necessary that religious education should form part of a man's life. Now the difficulty arises in Travancore like this. All the schools are opened to the students of all communities and groups that is Hinduism, Christianity and the like. But the Mussalmans want education to be imparted in Koran to their children. The Christians say that Christianity should be taught to their pupils and the Hindus want Hinduism to be taught to students of their community. This is the real difficulty in Travancore. So, I suggest, as was suggested by my honourable friend Mr. Mathew, that a committee be formed to consider the question in full.

MR. K. K. CHELLAPPAN PILLAI: Sir, in rising to support my honourable friend Mr. Mathew, I may be permitted just to read out the recommendations of the Committee contained on page 116 of their report:—

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[Mr. K. K. Chellappan Pillai.]

"The Committee has decided not to offer recommendations on the important problem of religious instruction in schools. The Committee fully realise that religious teaching is an essential and integral part of education, and that the absence of properly organised religious instruction as a part of everyone's schooling leads to deficiency in personality and character which cannot afterwards be made good. We feel, however, that this very important problem may more profitably be dealt with by a body specially constituted for the purpose."

Sir, the recommendation is clear and definite and in view of that recommendation, I do not think there is any need to enter into further discussion on the subject. But unfortunately, discussion has ensued round the whole question and I too have to speak on the necessity of constituting that committee.

Mr. K. R. Narayanan and Mr. Janardhanan Pillai have all been telling us that religion is not necessary for our.....

MR. M. L. JANARDHANAN PILLAI: Sir, I did not make such a statement.

MR. K. K. CHELLAPPAN PILLAI: Of course, I understood what you said.

MR. M. L. JANARDHANAN PILLAI: There, you are wrong.

MR. K. K. CHELLAPPAN PILLAI: When I take up this question, I would ask my honourable friend to think deeply and see what the world situation at present really is. The war is concluding and people have begun to think about the whole question in right earnest, and right-thinking people have come to the conclusion that religious teaching must be an essential part of education and that religion must influence other activities of the State. All religious teachers have stated really one thing, that is the lower nature in man must be subordinated to the higher nature and through revelation or otherwise, they have expressed their opinion. According to me, scientists have scrapped their discoveries by minute, but religious teachers have never done so. No religious teacher has brought forward a theory that we should not conquer our lust for sex, or for money, or for power. No prophet has gain said this idea.

We should always adopt a course so that nothing that we undertake is not for the welfare of the State. We have taken educational reform in right earnest. We have to mould the younger generations in consonance with the ideas that we have in mind for the welfare of the whole State. Any education worth the name should depict a central idea by which the society is to be moulded, and in considering the same, the religious aspect has to be taken. Rightly, the committee has taken it up, but they have left it.....

PRESIDENT: The House will now adjourn and meet again at 12 noon on Wednesday the 8th August 1945. The House rose at 6 p. m.

S. VAIDYANATHA AIYAR,
Secretary to the Sri Mulam Assembly.

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